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THE HINDU RUINS

IN THE

Plain of Parambanan

BY

Dr. J. GRONEMAN.

Honorary President of the Archaeological Society at Jogyåkartå.

Translated from the Dutch

BY

A. DOLK.

SEMARANG-SOERABAIA,
G. C. T. VAN DORP & Co.
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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

With a few exceptions (a. o. **ch** *and* **j** *have been substituted for* **ty** *and* **dy**) *the forms I have chosen for the non-English words in this guide are the same as I adopted in the description of the Bårâbudur.*

The vowels are to be read as in German, but it should be noticed that **y** *always represents the sound it has in the English word* **young.**

A. D.

I. CHANDI KALASAN.

This ruin is the only one in Central Java the age of which has been ascertained with perfect exactness, from an inscription in nâgari characters cut in a stone, which was found in the neighbourhood.

The inscription was deciphered and translated, both by the Dutch scholar Dr. J. BRANDES and the Indian Dr. R. G. BHANDARKAR (1).

This is no easy task, even for such scholars. Some Sanskrit characters have so much likeness among each other that it is difficult to tell one from the other, and if, as is the case with this inscription, which is about 1100 years old, they have become almost or quite illegible, a trustworthy deciphering is next to impossible.

This may account for the discrepancy of the two translations, which however, as the differences occur only in unimportant words or phrases, does not materially affect the clearness and the concordance of the two versions.

By reading and comparing the two versions repeatedly. I have found the sum and substance of the inscription to be the following:

"Homage to the blessed (or: reverend) and noble Târâ..

(1) See: Tijdschrift voor de Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde of 1886, pp. 240, et seq., and BHANDARKAR's Lecture in the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on August-us 6th, 1887.

"May she, the only deliverer of the world, who, seeing how men perish in the sea of life, which is full of incalculable misery, is sure to save them by the three means — grant you the wished-for essence (BH., quintessence, v. BR.), the salvation of the world by the Lord of gods and men.

"The guru (teacher, gurus, BR.) of the Ṣailendra prince erected a magnificent Târâ temple. At the command (or: the instance) of the guru, the grateful . . . (?) made an image of the goddess and built the temple, together with a dwelling (vihâra, monastery) for the monks (bhikshus) who know the great vehicle of discipline (Mahâyâna).

"By authorization of the king, the Târâ temple and the monastery for the reverend monks, have been built by his counsellors, the pangkur, the tavan, and the tirip (1).

"The deserving guru of the Ṣailendra king built the temple in the prosperous reign of the king, the son of the Ṣailendra dynasty.

"The great king built the Târâ temple in honour of the guru (to do homage to the guru), when 700 years of the Ṣaka era were past.

"The territory of the village of Kâlasa was bestowed on the congregation of priests (monks) in the presence of the pangkur, the tavan, and the tirip, and the village chiefs (as witnesses).

"This great (incomparable) endowment was made by the king for the monks. It is to be perpetuated by the (later) kings of the Ṣailendra dynasty, for the benefit of the successive reverend congregations of monks, and be respected (maintained) by the wise pangkur, the good

(1) According to BR. Old-Javanese civil officers, perhaps soothsayers or astrologers. BH., who probably does not know Old-Javanese, writes tirisha instead of tirip.

tavan, the wise tirip and others, and by . . . . . ("their virtuous wives", according to BR., but BH. 's version runs) "the virtuous foot-soldiers" (1).

"The king also begs of all following kings that this bridge (or: dam) of charity, which is (a benefit) for all nations, may be perpetuated for all times.

"May all who adhere to the doctrine of the Jinas, through the blessings of this monastery, obtain knowledge of the nature of things, constituted by the concatenation of causes (and effects), and may they thrive.

"The. . . . prince once more requests of (all) future kings, that they may protect the monastery righteously".

I add a few observations about the sense of this inscription.

Târâ is the appellation of the ṣaktis or wives, or forces, of the five Dhyâni-Buddhas, but especially of the fifth (the last), i. e. of the future Buddha or deliverer of the world hereafter. Now I think that this Târâ cannot be meant here, because she was only thought to be in the future, but had no more reason of being then than at present, and therefore can have no influence in this world. But the only one that can be meant, is the ṣakti of the deliverer of this world, of the fourth Dhyâni-Buddha, AMITÂBHA, the Târâ of the Buddhists of the Northern Church (2).

In Dr. BRANDES' version there is always question of gurus or teachers. Dr. BHANDARKAR uses the singular number.

(1) Great as the difference between these two versions, wives and soldiers, may appear, it is sufficiently accounted for by the difficulty to distinguish between the characters, which have become so worn out as to be all but illegible.

(2) On DHYANI-BUDDHAS, etc. see my "Tyanḍi-Bârâbudur in Central Java" (G. C. T. VAN DORP & Co., Sĕmarang-Surabaia, 1901), p. 9.

If the meaning is that the king founded the Târâ temple to pay homage to his own teacher—for we know that the Hindu revered his guru next to his own father—we are authorized to believe that the temple was erected over the ashes of this guru, just as other temples were built over the ashes of princes and other great and wise men, and that the image of Târâ must have been enthroned in the shrine or the principal room, over the well in which the funereal urn holding the ashes of te guru was deposited. If, however, the plural number in BRANDES' version is correct, we have to think of the Târâ temple rather as a homage to the gurus or monks, taken collectively, so that there would be no reason to admit the existence of a cinerary urn or a well, contrarily to what experience has taught about the ruins of other temples, for such wells are so common, that they are almost considered as essential features of chaṇḍis. This might still be examined, though treasure-seekers have broken up the floor and searched the earth underneath.

But from both versions it appears, without any doubt, that this temple was consecrated to Târâ, and was built or achieved in the year 701 of the Śaka-era, or 779 of our era, and that the Buddhists who built it belonged to the Northern Church, Mahâyâna or the "Great Vehicle."

In point of fact this would have been sufficiently manifest from its being consecrated to Târâ, for the "Little Vehicle", Hînayâna, or the orthodox Southern Church knows of no Târâs, no Dhyâni-Buddhas or Bodhisatvas, but reveres only the Buddha (of this world), the one saviour, and no more.

No trace has been found of the Târâ image, and the other images which once were placed in the entrance and

the three lateral chapels, as well as those which filled the niches in the wall of the temple, have likewise disappeared.

Only three or four of the many small Buddha figures which occupied the niches of the high roof are there still.

The chanḍi Kalasan was certainly, if not the most beautiful, at least one of the noblest and most beautiful monuments, left to us by the Hindus in Java; unfortunately in so dilapidated a state, that, unless some powerful hand by timely prevention wards off this calamity, it is sure to get irreparably lost.

It is situated a little to the north-east of Kalasan, a village and stopping-place, nearly 9 miles from Yogyåkartå, between the old mail-road and the railway to Sålå, and can be reached from the said stopping-place in a quarter of an hour.

What is left of it, is little more than the inner part, the principal room, with the greatly damaged remains of the roof, and one of the four projecting parts, the southern chapel; the two lateral chapels and the eastern porch with the entrance to the shrine, together with the surrounding terrace and its four flights of steps, being lost.

In 1886, however, there was still enough left, to enable the engineer J. B. HUBENET and the draughtsman L. MELVILLE (both in the service of the State Railways), active members of the newly founded Archaeological Society, under the direction of its first president, the Chief Engineer J. W. YZERMAN, to trace and reconstruct the original plan (1).

(1) See "Beschrijving der Oudheden nabij de grens der residentie's Soerakarta en Djogjakarta (sic!)", by J. W. YZERMAN, published by the Bataviasch Genootschap in 1891. The name of the draughtsman is omitted on the lithographs.

The temple was originally a rather large square building, with rectangular projections on the four sides, so as to form a polygon of 20 sides; and the roof was a high pyramidical structure, having as many sides at its base but higher up only eight. This pyramid was composed of girdles, gradually getting smaller and rising one over the other, of little niche-buildings, in the form of temples, all surmounted bij bell-shaped dagabas, resting on lotus-cushions, and finally crowned by a superior dagaba of far greater dimensions.

All this must have been incomparably beautiful of conception and workmanship, though in its construction perhaps no other tools were used but chisel and hammer, water-level, square and plumb-line.

It is probable that all the niches, both of the roof and of the inside and outside of the chief structure and of the chapels, contained images, standing or sitting on lotus-cushions (padmâsanas). The remaining niches on the outside of the wall, also of the southern chapel, are really of exquisite beauty, and the glorious richness of the sculptures of the façades is evident from those in the magnificent southern one, the only one still extant, which can be preserved, if the Government — who has the necessary power — but choose to give orders and pay for the labour required.

Or where is the Dutch Croesus who is willing to defray the cost of such a work in the service of Art and Science?

Let us examine the only façade with the attention it deserves.

The entrance to the chapel, a comparatively small and simple doorway, is flanked by two pilasters, the tops of which bear two dwarfish forms, supporting on their raised hands the lintel, a plain stone. On this stone rest the two

ends of a nicely sculptured wreathed arch, under which, in a little recess over the door, there is the small image of a sitting woman. Each of the raised hands holds a lotus-rosette, but there is nothing to mark the figure as a Târâ or Śri (the wife or śakti of the god Vishṇu) or any other divinity.

Another little image, in all respects like this one, is placed in the centre of the cornice.

In the wreathed arches we can no more or hardly recognize the monster-heads and serpentine bodies of the two Nâgas, which we shall frequently observe in other wreaths and round the niches and gates of this and other temples (1).

But so much the better they can be remarked in the splendid ornament, inclosing the little gate with its pilasters and wreathed arch, and rising high above it, up to the cornice proper, over the frieze.

For on the outside of each of these pilasters there is a magnificent conventional Nâga-head, with a widely opened mouth and an upper lip curling into an elephant's trunk, lying on a separate pedestal, the serpentine body, with a notched fold of the skin, like a long dorsal fin, rising out of the turned neck, along the outside of the pilasters and of the arch, and still higher bending inward rectangularly and disappearing between the formidable teeth of the monster Garuḍa.

(1) See my Bårâbudur guide, pp. 20, 21. It is shown there, that these monster-heads are no Banaspatis or Kâlâs, and that the wide-opened Nâga-mouths with curled-up elephants' trunks are neither elephants' nor Makara-heads, as was believed formerly, and is still said in YZERMAN'S work mentioned above. In the second "Bulletin" published this year by the "Ecole française d'Extrême Orient" at Saigon, one of the members, Captain LUNET DE LAJONQUIÈRE, says also that "des Garuḍas dévorant des Nâgâs" are placed "sur les linteaux de porte" at the ruins of pagodas at Vieng Chan.

Garuḍa, the vâhana (vehicle) of the god Vishṇu, being represented as the protector of Buddhism, finds its explanation in the belief of the Northern Buddhists, that Buddha was the ninth incarnation of Vishṇu, and that Garuḍa is the perpetual destroyer of the inimical infernal Nâgas (malignant demi-gods).

The head of Garuḍa is adorned with a finely chiselled coil of hair, and projects from a back-ground, alive with music-making celestians, borne by clouds. These musicians, however, lack the female breasts, which would mark them as apsarasas or heavenly nymphs, and the bird-like bodies by which they would be recognized as gandharvas (1).

By the cheeks or temples of the Garuḍa-head, where the Nâga-tails make angles with the bodies, there are little monstrous animals, the meaning of which I have not been able to find out.

In the open mouths of the Nâgas, here and almost every where else, there are small lions in a sitting posture, from whose mouths garlands of flowers are hanging down.

The little recess, just over the hair-coil of the Garuḍa, holding the above-mentioned little image of a woman, is likewise placed in a frame of Nâgas.

(1) Gandharvas are Indra's heavenly choristers, spirits of light, who live in the air and prepare the liquor of immortality, Soma. They are also mixers of medicine. According to the Vishṇu-Purâna they were born of Brahma. The temples of Parambanan show both male and female Gandharvas (Gandharvîs). The Apsarasas are their wives. They too are heavenly singers. According to Edward Moor, "Hindu Pantheon," Gandhâwas (sic), Apsarasas and Dewagânas are identical. The Gandharvas also fight the Nâgas. Further see in WILHELM UNCKEN'S "Allgemeine Geschichte" the "Geschichte des alten Indiens" by S. LEFFMANN, pp. 359, et seq., especially pp. 362 and 368; and on the meaning of the Nâgas in Buddhism pp. 365, et seq., especially p. 367.

On the outsides of this most beautiful whole, hard by the dorsal fins of the Nâgas, there are small shallow niches, also roofed over with wreaths (in which the Nâgas and Garuḍas are recognizable), and in each of these niches there is a bas-relief image, representing a man, standing, and holding in his outer hand the stem of a lotus-flower, rising from the ground at his feet, and in the inner hand a chamara or fly-flap. But for the want of a glory (prabha) behind the head, of the upavîta (the sacred thread) round the chest, and of the lotus-throne (padmâsana) under the feet, these images might be taken for Bodhisatvas (1).

Under the cornice there is a frieze, richly sculptured with a girdle of sitting dwarfs, like those represented at the heads of the pilasters by the sides of the doorway. Whether or no these dwarfs represent ganas. I dare not decide (2).

On each side of the little recess, holding the woman's figure, there are at regular intervals carefully worked antefixes on the cornice, those on the corners having the shape of monstrous heads with pyramidal hair-coils.

This cornice runs round the whole temple.

In the side-walls, both of the chief part of the building and the four projections (the porch and the three chapels) there are larger niches, so richly ornamented that they deserve particular notice. Their flanks are formed by double pilasters, supporting a wreathed arch, at the top composed of fine ornamental Nâgas and a Garuḍa-head. Four ce-

(1) Tyandi-Bârâbudur in Central Java, p. 9.

(2) Ganas or Gana-devatas are minor deities, attending on god Śiva, under the command of Śiva's son Ganeśa. They are divided into 9 classes. I do not know that they are recognizable by particular marks, and the little figures in question, which are quite naked, have not a single mark.

lestians, resembling those over the gigantic Garuḍa of the front, are hovering by the side of the hair-coil which also adorns this smaller head. But over them there is an exquisite little temple with nâga-heads, from whose mouths thick garlands of flowers hang down on the corners of the cornice.

Broad bands with nicely carved festoons, which notwithstanding their multiplicity never fatigue the eye of the observer, form the frames for the divisions of the walls, both in the central building and the southern chapel, at the same time enclosing the niches, now however robbed of their images.

The plain mouldings and bands still show the remains of a thin, but solid layer of plaster.

Before entering the temple, we give a brief sketch of the high roof, surmounting the polygonal building, as we may suppose it to have been originally.

As we have said before, it consisted of several girdles of little niche-temples, superposed one upon the other.

The first of these girdles had, as the building itself had, twenty sides, and the little temples composing it were of different sizes, alternately showing one or three niches, surmounted by Nâga-Garuḍa wreaths, rising from double pilasters, and each crowned with a bell-shaped dagaba. In one niche of the south and two of the east side the Buddha figures are still extant.

It is probable that the Dhyâni-Buddhas of this temple, like those of other temples, commanded their own quarters of the sky, the second, the third, the fourth, and the fifth respectively facing the east, the south, the west, and the north, and the first being placed higher, in the topmost girdle, as commanding the zenith (1).

(1) See my Bårå budur in Central Java, p. p. 57, et seq..

Over the first girdle rose the second, an octagonal one, in each side provided with a Buddha niche, which, over the four principal walls was flanked by two panel-shaped divisions on each side, and surmounted by three smaller dagabas. A larger dagaba was placed on the cornice over the four oblique sides. Only one Buddha image has been found in one of the niches of this girdle.

It seems that each of the panels contained a bas-relief image, like those found in the niches beside the gate.

The third story of the roof rose within the circle of the dagabas of the second. It was also octagonal, each side containing a Buddha-niche, flanked by two festooned bands only, and likewise surmounted by dagabas, a larger one in each oblique side, and three smaller ones in the principal sides.

Over and within the third girdle of dagabas rose one central dagaba, of much greater dimensions, but only the socle, adorned with fine antefixes, remains.

No doubt, this crowning ornament was very beautiful. If the design of this splendid building, as reconstructed by MR. HUBENET and MR. MELVILLE, is only approximatively exact, the roof, a divine thought cut in stone, must have made a noble and powerful impression.

Unfortunately, all this splendour has perished, and the roof pyramid itself has become a ruin, a dead pile of stones, overgrown with a small wood of tropical luxuriancy, which, in spite of all efforts at destroying it, sends forth its powerful, ever growing roots deeper and deeper into the mass of disjointed fragments.

Nothing can save it from utter disintegration, but an operation like that which is being applied to the chandi Mendut.

Let us enter the temple now.

The steps which led from the polygonal terrace, at one time surrounding the temple, to the gates, were swept from the face of the earth, together with the terrace itself and its four outer flights of stairs. The stones were carried off long ago, either to enclose some dèsâ or village, or to be used in the building of manufactories or aqueducts.

Hence we are obliged to get in by clambering on protruding stones, and, having made our entrance to the eastern porch, we see, in each side-wall, three niches covered by wreaths, modelled after the Nâga-Garuḍa idea, with two celestians on the sides. At the back some steps lead into the inner room, roofed over by level stones, which, jutting farther out towards the centre as they are placed higher, form the inside of a pyramid, first of four, then of eight sides.

Opposite to the entrance there is a plain altar-shaped throne, taking up nearly the whole breadth of the back-wall.

The couch, on which the chief image Târâ must have been sitting, is vacant, but speaks still for the magnitude of the image and the greatness of the goddess.

On each side of the throne, a recumbent elephant sticks out, with half its body, from the back-wall above the throne; the neck of each sacred animal supporting a half-human, half-brute monster with curling horns, resembling the small imps on the angles of the southern gate-ornament.

In each of the two side-walls there is an opening, admitting the air from the outside, adorned with double pilasters.

The three chapels and the porch once had, as the southern chapel has still, a pyramidal roof of gradually re-entering stones, and in each chapel there was an altar-shaped pedestal for three images against the back-wall, and each side-wall had a niche for one image.

All those images are lost, and though a few of them may be found back at some country-seats or in the garden of the resident's house, we do not know which they are and where they were placed in the temple. Formerly I half suspected that the delightful female image that adorns the said garden may be the lost Târâ, but this was a mistake.

The depredations, committed on this temple by Europeans as well as by natives, even in the nineteenth century, have caused much injury to the study of Javanese archaeology and ancient art.

II. CHANDI SARI.

This is the name improperly given to the ruin which is found within half a mile to the north, on the west side of the mail-road, near chaṇḍi Sari dèsâ (1). It might with more right be called a vihâra, or in Javanese a pĕrtapan, for a chaṇḍi is a pile, or tomb, or temple, built over the ashes of one dead, so that this name is only appropriate for those Hindu ruins of Central Java which contain, or contained, a well in which one or some cinerary- urns were deposited.

This cannot be said of this ruin and one more, which we may suppose to have been monasteries.

We may even assume that this is the very vihâra which, according to the inscription spoken of in the preceding chapter, was built together with the chaṇḍi Kalasan by order of the Ṣailendra king, to serve as a residence for the monks belonging to this temple, and so must be above 11 centuries old.

It is a long quadrangular edifice of dark-gray stone, andesite lava, which is also the only or principal building-material of the other ruins. It has two long and two short sides.

(1) There is no village named Bendah, (Yzerman), though it is marked on the map.

The entrance is in the middle of the long east-side. The porch which once led up to it is gone. There are two stories, and the roof of the porch reached a little higher than the cornice of the lower structure, which ends at the angles in little monstrous-heads.

To the right and left of the entrance there are square windows, flanked by panels with bas-relief images.

Another cornice bears over the 3 windows of the upper floor three larger square niches (which at some distance make an impression as if there were a second story), and two smaller ones between them. They conceal what is still left of the roof.

All this is very finely sculptured. There are again two nâgas on the side-posts of the door, whose heads with curled elephants' truncks are turned out, and rest upon kneeling elephants, which take the place of the common stone pedestals. On each elephant there is a man, probably the keeper or sĕrati. In the widely opened Nâga-mouth there is not a little lion, but a bird.

The lintels of the four chief windows are elegantly carved, surmounted by exquisite sculpture-work, and ending in Nâga-heads with elephants' trunks. This beautiful ornament is supported by two double pilasters, framing the window, and each enclosing a creature, half-human, half-bird, perhaps a standing gandharva (1), stretched out in length, so as to find room in the narrow space.

(1) Not Kinnaras, as we read in YZERMAN'S work. Both Kinnaras and Gandharvas are celestial choristers; but the former are represented as having horses' heads and not with the bodies of birds, like the latter. See KOEPPEN, "Religion des Buddha und ihre Entstehung," I. p. 247; EDW. MOOR, "Hindu Pantheon," pp. 178 and 237; DOWSON, "Classical Dictionary," p. 158. And on gandharvas, DOWSON, "Cl. D." pp. 106 and 107, and KERN, "Geschiedenis van het Buddhisme in Indië," I. p. 294.

In each of the panels there is a man's figure, either with or without a glory (prabha), but without any mark characterizing particular gods, or Bodhisatvas, or other beings.

The middle window of the story is not ornamented, probably because the roof of the porch hid it from sight, but between this window and each of the other two, there is a small shallow niche, nicely crowned, and holding a being in dancing posture, whose exact nature cannot be made out.

The cornice of the upper story bears, or bore, three greater and two smaller niches, the greater ones straight over the three upper windows, the smaller ones between the others. The former are covered with fine Nâga-wreaths, supported by pilasters, and flanked by Nâgas, each being surmounted by a Garuḍa-head. Beside or over each head celestians are hovering. These niches too were once surmounted by dagabas, just like the roof-niches of chandi Kalasan, so it is probable that they contained little Dhyâni-Buddha images. The two lesser niches have richly-sculptured gargoyles, spouting the rainwater out of the two gutters, which were perhaps made between three roofs, to a considerable distance.

The other three façades are worked in the same style with the eastern one, but without a doorway and porch. At the back (facing the west) there are no windows but three blank recesses on the groundfloor, but the first floor has three windows. The roof-niches correspond to those of the front.

Bas-relief festoons adorn the sham windows.

For the rest all the windows, the sham ones too, like those of the front, are crowned and framed, and flanked by panels with standing images. The two side walls show

the same ornamentation. Each of them has one window and one blank recess on the groundfloor, and in the middle of the upper story between two panels one little niche like the two of the front. Instead of windows, the side-rooms on the groundfloor have blank recesses at the back.

The two images between the lower windows of the southern façade represent women. Those of the northern façade are one man and one woman, provided with large wings

At the back and in the eastern façade there are between the roof-niches two smaller ones, from which gargoyles are jutting out. There are, of course, none in the side façades.

The outside of the building also seems to have been plastered.

Ascending to the entrance and entering the old monastery, we see that it is divided by two thick transverse walls into a central room and two side-rooms on the groundfloor and on the upper floor. The cornice (which breaks the inner walls at middle height) still shows the notches in which the ends of the beams, used in the flooring, rested. The central room on the groundfloor received some light and air through the entrance from the porch and through the doors of the side-rooms; that of the upper floor, through the doors of the upper side-rooms, through the little window over the roof of the porch, and through the larger window in the back-wall. Each of the two side-rooms on the groundfloor has two windows, one in the middle of the front-wall, the other in the foremost half of the outer side-wall. Each upper side-room has four windows.

All the windows are square apertures, purposely left between the blocks of the enormously thick walls, and it seems that they could be closed by shutters.

As in other Hindu ruins, the walls were built, without mortar or cement, from lava blocks, but so strongly, that, but for earthquakes or human destructiveness, they might have defied tens of centuries more.

The doors of the side-rooms are straight opposite to the side-windows, consequently near the corner formed by the inner wall and the front-wall. In the middle of the side-walls of the lower central room two recesses facing each other have been spared out.

Each of the side-rooms has one niche, in the middle of the outer side-wall. These niches are again framed and crowned with the Nâga-Garuḍa ornament. The widely opened Nâga-mouths contain birds.

The corresponding walls of the upper rooms had smaller niches, devoid of ornamentation.

Each upper room was roofed over by a hallow quadrangular pyramid of gradually more and more re-entering level stones.

Whether the upper story alone was inhabited, or the groundfloor too, or at least its two side-rooms, we shall certainly never be able to make out. It would seem that the stairs leading to the upper storey was in the southern side-room.

If we assume that 5 of the 6 rooms were inhabited, each lodging 4 or 5 monks, the monastery may have afforded a habitation to some 20, or together with guests from elsewhere, nearly 30 bhikshus, certainly a sufficient number for the service in a single temple as the chaṇḍi Kalasan.

III. THE GROUP OF TEMPLES NEAR PARAMBANAN.

If we follow the mail-road for about $1^1/_2$ mile in north-eastern direction, crossing some smaller rivers and the broad Kali Upak (there are no bridges), we reach Parambanan dèsâ. The railway trains stop at the other end of the village, but we take the first road to the left (northward), leading to the group of temples which derive their name from the village.(1) They are the most interesting in the country.

Though the ruins of Parambanan do not contain a single genuine Buddha-figure, but many images of Brahmanic gods, there are many reasons to justify the opinion that they were built by Buddhists, probably over the ashes of princes and grandees of a Buddhistic empire.

In the first place there are the monumental bo-trees covered with parasols, a considerable number of which have been hewn out round the base of each of the six larger temples or chandis. Now such trees are also found on

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(1). YZERMAN uses the appellation of "tjandi Loro Djonggrang" (sic), in imitation of the Javanese, who thought the Durgâ-image represented the daughter of their legendary ratu Bâkâ, lârâ JONGGRANG. The name and the opinion are equally wrong.

the walls of temples the Buddhistic character of which is never called in question, such as the Bårâbudur, the Mëndut, and the Pavon; and, what is more, with the same accompaniments: parrots, hovering over the trees, and under them gandharvas and gandharvîs, in the shape of birds with human faces and men's or women's breasts.

In some cases, however, the gandharvas here are replaced by tigers, deer or antelopes, rams, hares or rubbits, peacocks, geese, and other birds or quadrupeds.

Then there are the many dagaba shaped bells in a large number of ornaments, f i. the wreaths over the many niches, and the backs of the seats of the gods.

Further there is the peculiar posture (resembling that of the Bodhisatvas or Buddha's sons, or future Buddhas) in which the gods of the fourth (the topmost) series of sculptures of the three western temples are represented.

Still it might be objected that the images are those of various gods belonging to the Hindu pantheon, some easily recognizable by their attributes or symbols, some only with difficulty, owing to either the absence, or the loss, or the indistinctness of the greatly injured characteristic marks; but this circumstance does not disprove the Buddhistic character of the temples, since the so-called Northern church, Mahâyâna, which, as is well-known, at one time ruled in Central Java, considered many Brahmanic divinities only as avataras or manifestations of the Primordial Buddha (Adi-Buddha), an idea by which they assimilated themselves to other, non-Buddhistic, Hindus.

The Brahmanic Trimûrti or triad, Brahmâ, Vishṇu and Iṣvara (Ṣiva) was even identified with Buddha by the poet Tantular, the Mâjâpahïte Mahâyânist, as professor KERN has demonstrated in his article on the Old-

Javanese poem Sutasoma (1), and as, on his authority, I wrote in my illustrated work: "Tjandi Parambanan na de ontgraving", published by the "Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned.-Indië" in 1893.

As a matter of fact these images are also found in other Mahâyânistic temples, both in Java and on the continent of Asia. Some, f.i. Śiva and Gaṇeśa, even in Hînayânistic pagodas in Ceylon. The undoubtedly Buddhistic monastery, and chandi, Pĕlahosan, also has fine images of gods, as Bodhisatvas (2), a.o. Brahma.

Finally we may adduce in proof of the Buddhistic character of these temples, that the Buddhists themselves in their books sometimes represent the Buddha as one of the Indian gods moving amidst men. In the Jâtakamâlâ, translated from the Sanskrit by professor SPEYER, we read a.o, how the Lord descends from Heaven on earth as Indra, in order to convert a king who, with his courtiers, indulges in excessive potations. (3).

Still it is but just to own that there were some scholars who did not share my opinion about the Buddhistic character of Parambanan, and that the Buddhist king of Siam did not take them for Buddhistic buildings. But this cannot surprise us, if we consider the very great difference between these ultra-Mahâyânistic temples and the Hînayânistic pagodas, in his kingdom, of the Church of his forefathers, and also take into consideration that H. M.'s attention could not be sufficiently directed to the

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(1) See "Verslagen en Mededeelingen" of the Royal Academy, 3rd series, V.

(2) See below.

(3) See my description of the "Tyandi Bårâbudur in Central Java", 1901, pp. 37 and 38.

Buddhistic marks of Parambanan through want of time, as the early morning hours had been taken up by his visit to the chandis Kalasan and Sari.

I am, however, of opinion, that, except in connection with Buddhism, there can be no question of homage being paid to the holy bo-tree, the symbol of the tree under which GAUTAMA attained to Buddha-hood, nor of Bodhisatvas, nor of the repeated representation of dagaba-shaped prayer-bells. So these ornaments, not being in keeping with works of art of a non-Buddhistic character, mark Parambanan, as a creation of Buddhistic, in casu Mahâyânistic, art.

In our inspection of the sculptured-works we shall see more Buddhistic symbols.

The ruins form a group of 8 chandis, 3 greater and 3 lesser ones, in two parallel rows, the former on the west, the latter on the east side of a spacious square terrace, with 2 still smaller ones at the ends of the space between the two rows.

The western chandis have their entrances towards the east, the eastern ones towards the west, the smallest two had their entrances opposite to each other, the southern one towards the north, the northern one towards the south.

Around the terrace there were once at least 157 very small temples, of which we have only found and partly dug up the socles with the foundations. They formed three squares, one enclosing another and gradually descending a little, and had their entrances in the walls forming the outmost sides of the squares.

The main terrace was once enclosed by four walls of small height, each with a gate in the middle, which was approached through a spacious opening in the corresponding side of the square.

Outside the outermost and lowest square there was, to the north of the eastern access, a single miniature temple, perhaps one of a fourth enclosing square.

Assuming that the greater main temples were mausolea, built over the ashes of princes or chiefs of the ancient mighty Hindu empire, which, with the exception of these ruins, has left no traces but some inscriptions on stone or copper and its name, Mataram (1), we are not too bold in supposing that the ashes of minor chiefs, of members of the royal family, of court dignitaries, and perhaps of gurus or monks, rested in the lesser chandis.

In this supposition we might believe that all these mausolea were erected successively through numbers of years, as the members of one family or of several families departed this life; which belief is not inconsistent with the symmetrical position of the chandis, as we may take for granted that the founder or the architect made allowance for those who were still living.

About a mile northward are the ruins of chandi-Sevu (2), the "thousand" temples, likewise placed symmetrically in four rectangular figures, one inside the other, with a single main temple of considerably larger dimensions in the middle. In my opinion this also testifies the unfinished execution of a pre-conceived plan.

The excavation of the inner rooms began in 1885, and the basements of the main temples were laid bare in 1889 and 1890, but not a single inscription was found from which information might be gathered either about the

(1) An Old-Javanese edict, engraved on a copper plate, by the word raja i Mataram, proves the existence of a Hindu empire of that name.

(2) See below.

dead persons whose ashes were buried there, or about the men who erected the mausolea, or about the time when the latter were built.

But since we know that the ruins of Kalasan and Sari were built or finished in the year 701 of the Old-Javanese Saka era (about A. D. 779), there is no reason to prevent us from assigning about the same age to these temples, built in the same style, and situated in the same part of the country.

The characters of the inscriptions on the Bårâbudur, at a considerable distance to the northwest, which were discovered in 1890, show, according to professor KERN, that this temple was also built about the close of the eighth century of the Christian era. Taking into consideration that some sculptured works of this temple, as well as of the Parambanan ones, are unfinished, so much so that the outlines of a few are barely sketched, we may think it likely that the labour on all these buildings was stopped at the same time, and perhaps through the same cause that overthrew the Hindu empire of which they are monuments.

Among the sculpture-works we are going to examine, the number of those in a more or less unfinished state is rather large, especially on the great Northern temple; but a striking proof of the (sudden?) suspension of the labour is found in the two stones erected at the foot of the stairs of the southernmost temple in the east row. These stones are only rough-hewn but from their position at the end of the banishers, we conclude that they were to be shaped into nâga's.

The three temples in the west side are polygonal with re-entering and projecting angles (viz. squares with four rectangular projections on each side), raised on similar basements. Rather steep steps in the east sides lead to

the terrace bearing the superstructures, from which larger flights of steps give admittance to the inner rooms.

The middle temple, larger than the others, has on each side two flights of steps, the lower one leading to a landing raised a few feet above the terrace, which is connected with this little platform by smaller side-steps.

In the corners between the stairs and the wall of the basement of this temple there are miniature temples of exquisite workmanship, the front and side-walls of which had niches, each containing the high-relief figure of a man or a woman, or a god and a goddess [?]. Perhaps these figures represent Râma and Sîtâ (See below).

The upper flights of stairs on the south, west, and north sides, lead to the entrances of three chapels with pyramidal roofs of their own, which, lower and less ponderous, have been almost entirely preserved, as well as the images, which, owing to their being placed inside the chapels, have not been broken by the rubbish that has been falling down from the superstructure.

The three tempels in the east side also had twenty angles, but their basements were quadrangular.

The two smaller chaṇḍis, almost entirely destroyed, on the north and south sides of the great terrace, were quadrangular, perhaps with cross-shaped superstructures.

If these and all the other smaller temples outside the terrace once contained images, which is probable, the images shared the fate of the dwarf temples themselves, of which only the foundations escaped destruction. Judging from the few images that have been found among or near the remains of the chaṇḍi Sévu, the little temples contained Dhyâni-Buddha figures. It is a great pity that they are lost, for they might have solved many problems.

In the northern temple on the east side we have found a Ṣiva-image, and in the middle one of the same row a nandi or bull, Ṣiva's vâhana (the animal which he rode). In the southern temple which is almost wholly destroyed, no image has been found.

In the chief temple of the western row, the principal temple of the whole group, has been found a Ṣiva-image — twice the size of life — but broken by the stones of the superstructure in its fall. The fragments were lying near the altar-shaped pedestal, partly destroyed. The southern temple contains a Brahma, the northern one a Vishṇu; both much damaged, especially the former.

Under the pedestals of these images and the flagstones of the inner rooms there were deep wells, filled with rubbish and stones unhewn or only clumsily hewn. The well of the Ṣiva-temple had a depth of 14 yards.

It contained: a quadrangular cinerary urn of stone with a stone cover, holding a brown-coloured mixture of earth and imperfectly burned ashes, and some small flat pieces of gold, silver and copper, for the most part rhombic in form, the whole being wrapped in three layers of copper-plate, which, notwithstanding their advanced state of disintegration, still showed some Old-Javanese characters, now become illegible, in square frames; further 7 oblong thin gold plates with Old-Javanese letters or words inscribed on them, and 5 figures cut out of gold-leaf, representing a serpent (or nâga,) a tortoise, a lotus rosette, an altar (?) and an ellipse; 32 globular Hindu coins and some small stones, garnets, rock-crystal, dichroite, and glass, and one little shell. A yard beneath the urn there was another little gold plate bearing an inscription.

In the well of the Brahmâ-temple we have found: a gold coin and a gold nail (?), and in that of the Vishṇu-temple a round earthenware urn, containing a copper leaf,

a tortoise, a chakra, a cross (?), and a vajra (1) of silver leaf, lastly some little stones, rubies, some glass, and an agate in which the figure of a fish was cut.

They are the emblematical seven treasures (sapta ratna), which were buried with the dead, probably as symbols of what their friends wished they might have in a life hereafter.

In the still discernible well of one of the smaller temples a similar mixture of earth and ashes was found; some others contained nothing. As they were not covered with great masses of rubbish, it is probable that they were emptied by native or European treasure-seekers long ago.

On the outer walls of the basements of all the principal temples there are, immediately over the socle resting on the ground, series of sculptures, which differ only in the size and elaborateness of the component parts, dependent on the dimensions of the buildings themselves. Each series, filling one division of the wall or repeated several times in the same space, consists of a projecting part with a niche, surmounted with a beautiful wreathed arch and flanked by very elegant pilasters, and on each side a bo-tree in bas-relief, covered by payungs, with ever-varied additions.

Most of the niches contain little lions with curled manes.

We cannot suppose that they were carried off from under the rubbish out of those niches which are now empty, so we must believe that they were wanting there before the superstructure came down, being either unfinished, or not yet placed in the niches, when the labour on the almost completed temples was stopped or when the temples themselves came down. The ponderous cornice

(1) The chakra is the discus of Vishṇu, the vajra, the bundle of shafts of lightning of Indra.

over the sculptures proved sufficient protection from the falling masses of stone to the figures found in the niches, so that they were not damaged at all, at the time of their discovery (1889 and 1890).

The majority of the sculptured animals under the bo-trees are mythic gandharvas, which also take up all the compartments of the wall to the right and left of the stairs.

There are no more continuous series of sculptures over the first series of the buildings in the east row, but only a few niches are left, which may have contained standing images. But the three principal temples on the west side showed, over the cornice protecting the first series, three superior ones, which we shall indicate as the second, the third, and the fourth. The second series was on the outside of the wall that served as a parapet to the terrace, but has been partially preserved only on the Śiva-temple, though, there too, destroyed, displaced and covered for the greater part by the falling stone-blocks.

The wall west of the lower flight of stairs on the north-side of the Śiva-temple, and the wooden building erected for the collection of the fragments found among the rubbish, contain much that can excite our admiration of the noble art and the sublime beauty displayed in these high-relief sculptures.

Each of the niches in the projecting parts of this wall contains three heavenly nymphs (apsarasas), standing or rather dancing in a stately manner, with arms interlaced. The motif is the same, everywhere but there is the greatest variety in the posture of the figures. They are in high relief, some even almost wholly detached; showing an exuberance of fancy and execution (1).

(1) Three of these groups of nymphs have been placed in the little museum, in the grounds of the residency at Yogyåkartå.

The niches excelled in rich and skilful workmanship; they were enclosed by beautiful pilasters and covered by splendid Nâga-Garuḍa wreaths with three pendent prayer-bells, and lions in the corners.

The receding parts of the wall between the niches were adorned with dancing musicians.

The third series of sculptures, which has been preserved almost intact on the Śiva-temple, but, with the exception of a few stones, has disappeared from the other two, was on the inner side of the parapet. On the Śiva-temple it is a representation of the first part of the Râma-legend, from the beginning down to the crossing from the continent to Ceylon. It is probable that the corresponding series of the other two temples reproduced the sequel to that history, but, though some fragments found among the rubbish corroborate this belief, it cannot be made out with any degree of certainty.

A ponderous cornice, richly ornamented, which has got almost entirely lost, on the Śiva-temple as well as on the others, ran over this series. Here again prayer-bells were hanging down from the wreaths.

The fourth series was found on the wall of the temple itself, a few feet higher than the terrace. Each of the three western temples is still adorned with it, almost the whole of it being in its place, though not undamaged. There Hindu divinities are seated on thrones, on the Śiva-temple between panels with beautiful frames holding groups of two or (mostly) three followers in sitting postures, most of them men; but on the Vishṇu-temple between two standing women. On the Brahma-temple all the gods are Gurus, (Śiva as teacher or hermit), flanked by two standing monks or gurus, bearded like the gods themselves.

Higher up there are no more continuous series, but

only a few niches; the figures that may have filled them are lost. Perhaps they were hurled down along with the falling stones and broken to pieces; possibly they were carried off by visitors, or are still hidden among the more or less injured blocks of stone that have been found mixed with the rubbish.

It is probable that the high cornices and the pyramidal roofs resting on them came down centuries ago. As to what they looked like we can only make conjectures. No bell-shaped dagabas or chaityas have been found among the rubbish, but a great many spherical ones, fluted like melons or some kinds of pumpkins, with a cavity at the top, which may have served to receive the base of a column, such as have been found in great number, some globular, some conical like the little dagaba-columns of Kalasan or chandi Sevu and Bårå-budur.

My opinion is that these melon-shaped stone-blocks are chaityas, as there are many of them, likewise spherical, though not fluted, among the sculptures of the Bårå-budur; one at the base even under the inscription: homage to a chaitya (1).

If it had been the intention of the Parambanan architects to devote one temple to each of the gods of the Indian Trimûrti, they ought, I think, to have placed on the Śiva temple images of none but Śiva, Kâla, and Guru, with Durgâ and Ganéśa, and (perhaps) Śiva's other son, Kârtikeya (whom I did not see represented elsewhere in Central Java), but not of Brahma or Vishnu or other gods; on the Brahma temple only

(1) See my "Tyandi-Bårâbudur in Central Java", p. 65.

Brahma and his ṣakti: Sarasvati; and on the chandi Vishṇu none but Vishṇu and his wife Ṣrî or Lakshmî, and his 8 or 9 avatâras.

Ṣiva, however, is met with everywhere. He alone is enthroned in the richly ornamented inner room of the greatest temple, represented by an image that surpasses all the others in size, and he is also found in the porch of this temple, but even on the outside of the other two temples the number of his images is superior to that of the other gods; moreover he is represented in Guru shape on the Brahma-temple with the exclusion of all others.

In the three lateral chapels of the middle temple we again find Ṣiva (as Guru), with his ṣakti and his son. So in the northern chandi of the east row we see Ṣiva also, and in the chief temple of this row his vâhana, the nandi.

So Ṣiva is incontestably the chief god, who inspired the principal idea of the whole structure, just as he is the chief god, represented in Mahâyânistic temples in India, Nepal and Tibet, and the only one I saw (sometimes with his son Ganeṣa) in Hinâyânistic pagodas, at least at Colombo and Kelany in Ceylon. But, whereas in those countries he is identified with Buddha, at Parambanan he is treated as identical with Brahma, with Vishṇu, and with all those who, in the posture of Bodhisatvas or Buddha's sons, or as avataras of the same Primordial Buddha (Adi-Buddha), were worshipped by the people, wholly in conformance to the doctrine of Mahâyâna, as preached by Tantular (see above).

The miscellaneous collection of all those different gods, together with bo-trees, prayer-bells, (and dagabas or chaityas?), and other Buddhistic symbols, leaves no room for another explanation.

A. THE ŞIVA-TEMPLE.

Let us now begin the inspection of the chief temple.

We ascend the two flights of stairs on the east-side, leading to the porch before the entrance to the inner room, where we see two small Şiva-figures, one on each side. One rests its right hand on a club, its left on its hip, and is standing on a lotus-throne and has a glory round (behind) its head, but no other distinctive marks. The club is an attribute of Kâla, i. e. Şiva as Killer, all-destroying Time (1), but a gentle Kâla, such as he is conceived by Buddhists only, who consider death to be no enemy. The images of Kâla in the non-Buddhistic temples of India represent him as a horrifying monster, with the face of a brute, a large tusked mouth, a collar of skulls, and other attributes of the same kind. None of these are found in Central Java: only the destructive weapon, the club is there, but a noble, mild countenance, instead of one causing horror, so that, probably, we have to see in this more humane divinity a Buddhistic Kâla, who seems to justify our opinion about the Mahâyânistic character of Parambanan.

(1) The Javanese word kâlâ also means time.

It is true that in Java too are found some Kâla-images with all the attributes of the terrible non-Buddhistic god: diadems, ear-drops, chains round the neck and the breast, and strings of skulls round the loins. But it should be observed that these are guards of non-Buddhistic Hindu buildings, such as those of Singâsari between Lawang and Malang in the province of Pasuruhan. We have only to compare those monstrous images with the warders of Buddhistic mausolea, such as those of chaṇḍi Sevu, to the north of Parambanan (1), to be convinced, that those images do not represent râkshasas or demons but only Kâla, in two different characters according to the Buddhistic or non-Buddhistic religion of the dead (1). The door-keepers of the Buddhistic chaṇḍi-Sevu, have, besides the tusks in their months, which are closed or only slightly opened, no symbol of death but the club, and nothing like a skull; and the cobra, which they wear as an upavîta or hold in their hands, is one of the attributes of Şiva, which marks no other god but himself also as Kâla, and his son Ganeşa, least of all the not divine, but demonic râkshasas (2).

The other figure has a chamara or fly-flap in its left and a rosette in its right hand, which are, however, no marks of any particular divinity; only the trişûla or trident once denoted its Şaivitic character; but all the attributes either of Kâla or of Guru, or of any other particular form of Şiva, are wanting (3).

This image also stands on a padmâsana, and wears a prabha round its head. The trişûla has disappeared after the excavation; perhaps it was carried off by a collector of curiosities.

(1) See below.

(2) See my article: "Tempelwachters" in the "Tijdschr. voor de Ind. Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde. 1899, part XLI.

(3) Nevertheless YZERMAN calls it a Guru.

The walls of the porch and the room are ornamented with panels showing garlands, flowers, and lotus-rosettes in bas-relief. In the centre is the only image, a Śiva, about 9 feet high. It was found broken to pieces among the rubbish in 1885, but the fragments have since been put together, by our fellow-director, Mr. GESSNER, so that we have been able to replace the very beautiful image, though greatly damaged, on its own pedestal.

It had, together with its lotus-cushion, been cut from one block of the same species of stone (andesite lava) that formed the material of the whole group of temples.

Round the foot of the image, we still distinguish in the pedestal the shallow groove in which the water, sprinkled on the image by way of offering, collected, and, on its left side, the sink through the holes of which the water was carried off, and under which it could be caught by the believers as holy water. The head of a nâga or snake, of beautiful workmanship, bears the stone, which for this purpose juts out considerably.

It would be a mistake to consider these altar-shaped pedestals as Yonis (symbols of the female nature) (1), not even there where they are found under linggas (symbols of the male creating power). They are likewise found under Brahma, Vishṇu, and other images which can have nothing in common with the lingga-cultus, such as we shall see in the other temples of this group; and in the grounds of the resident's house at Yogyåkartå there is a similar pedestal the sink of which is supported by a Garuḍa, the vâhana of Vishṇu.

This altar must have served as a pedestal to a Vishṇu

(1) See my first Parambanan article in the Indische Gids of 1887 and my description of Chandi-Ijo in the "Tijdschr v. d. Ind. T.-, L.- en Vkk. of 1888.

or an image of his şakti, Lakshmî or Şrî, or an avatâra of Vishnu, but not to the figure that has been placed upon it afterwards.

The Şiva-image wears a makuta or crown with a skull over a lunar crescent; it has three eyes, one being placed in the forehead, and a cobra with a crowned head as upavîta across the left shoulder and the chest. Under the divine decorations there is a panther's skin, the head of which hangs down upon the right thigh. The image has four arms and holds a chamara in the raised upper left hand, and an akşamâlâ or rosary in the corresponding right hand; the other right hand rests upon the chest, and the left holds a rounded cone-shaped object, perhaps representing an amrita-vase (1) or believed to contain holy water of the Ganggâ (Ganges).

A great disc of light (prabha) covers the back of the head, and against it leans or leant (for only the shaft is left) the trident or trişûla.

All these attributes mark the wearer as the "Great god", "Mahâdêva".

Descending the upper flight of stairs we go back to the platform, from which, by the small stairs on the south-side, we reach the terrace running round the temple. We shall walk round the terrace twice, once from the east side, through the south, west and north, to our starting-point in the east, for the inspection of the sculptured works of the third series, on the inner side of the parapet, and for a visit to the three lateral chapels; and once more, to look at the images of the gods on the wall of the temple itself (the fourth series).

We shall explain each of the sculptures in the 24 divisions, the limits of which are formed by the 20 corners and the 4 flights of stairs.

(1) Amrita is the elixir of life of the gods.

The third series refers to the Râma legend, as told in the Indian epic Râmâyana.

1, a. Daşaratha, king of Ayodhyâ in the South of India, attended by his three childless wives, approaching Vishnu, to pray for the blessing of offspring. The god, as Nârâyana, rests upon the seven-headed sea-serpent Şêsha or Ananta (the symbol of Infinity), floating upon the waves, marked with fish and other sea-animals.

The god is recognizable by the symbols in his two hind-hands, the chakra or discus, representing the flaming sun-disc of the sun-god, and the winged conch, şankha. The right fore-hand rests upon the chest beside the upavîta, the left on the belt, stretched round the knee. The symbol in this hand has become unrecognizable.

The god is adorned with a crown, a disc of light, and other divine attributes.

On the right behind him (the first image of the group) we see his vâhana, the sun-eagle Garuḍa, represented as a man with a beak, wings and talons.

Daşaratha and his three wives (the fourth woman might be taken for an attendant, if she wore no crown) offer flowers to the god, just as the Javanese still do when they ask a favour of their ancient gods. The small breasts mark the barrenness of the women.

In the Râmâyana we read that Vishṇu gave Daşaratha a draught, which he divided among his three wives. Kausalyâ, the first, got half of it, the other two a quarter each. Kausalyâ then bore her husband Râma, Kaikeyî, the second wife, bore Bharata, and the third wife gave birth to twins: Lakshmana and Şatrughna.

b. The next group refers to later incidents. Daşaratha is in conversation with one of his wives, probably Kausalyâ. Her full breasts mark motherhood.

Vişvâmitra, an ascetic of royal rank, comes to ask

the assistance of their son Râma, to combat the giants or demons (râkshasas), who infest the wilderness in which he spends his solitary life. The horse symbolizes the journey made by the ascetic.

It is not perfectly clear which image represents Viśvâmitra, as the face of the chief person on the foreground is lost, and the hair-dress rather suggests that a woman is meant. Not so the breast.

2. Viśvâmitra, now as a princely ascetic and a guest of high rank, enthroned on a higher seat, and adorned with a crown and glory, receives the homage of Daśaratha and his three wives (all full-breasted now). Râma takes leave of his parents to follow Viśvâmitra, with his half-brother Lakshmana. The horses are ready for the journey.

3. Râma with his brother in the wilderness, near the habitation of the ascetic, marked by tame deer and other animals. Râma kills the female demon (râkshasî) Târakâ, recognizable by her brutish face and withered bosom, who, in dying threatens her conqueror with her curse, pointing at him with her extended forefinger. Another râkshasî is killed by a companion of Râma's (Lakshmana ?).

4. Viśvâmitra in his cell is feeding his tame birds, whilst Râma and Lakshmana, outside, continue and end their war against the giants.

5. Viśvâmitra takes his deliverers to the court of Janaka, the king of Vidéha, whose daughter Sîtâ, the noble heroine of the Râmâyana epic, is promised to him who shall be able to bend Śiva's bow Dhanusha. Râma, the only one who performs this feat, gets Sîtâ for his wife, her sister being bestowed upon Lakshmana.

The two women, outside the reception-room, witness Râma's victory. Their father, with Viśvâmitra and Lakshmana, is enthroned within.

6, a. Râma and Lakshmana with their brides, at least with Sîtâ, on their return to the paternal residence, where Râma is to be proclaimed successor to the throne. Envoys sent by Daşaratha come to meet them. Like the attendants of Javanese princes in our days, they bear princely insignia, a. o. a trişula. A man of the people has got off his legs and is trodden under foot by the enthusiastic crowd.

b. Râma and Lakshmana participate in the games in honour of the festive occasion, either a shooting match or a hunting-party in a wilderness, signified by monkeys, a snake and a scaly animal. Râma shooting an arrow attracts the attention.

c. Finally king Daşaratha is seen conversing with his second wife, Kaikeyî. She reminds him of a promise made by him to fulfil one of her wishes. She now demands that Râma shall be banished and her son, Bharata, in his stead shall be proclaimed successor to the throne. Daşaratha feels bound to keep his royal word and accomplish Kaikeyî's wish, but he will die for grief at the loss of his beloved son.

Here we have approached the platform, from which the upper flight of stairs leads to the southern chapel, where, in the corner formed by the side of the platform and the part of the wall just described — between the Râmâyana scene and the little side-stairs —, an isolated sculptured work is cut: a man and a woman leaning against each other.

This group, repeated at all the little platforms, seems to be meant as a kind of supplement, probably representing Râma and Sîtâ, the chief characters of the epic.

In the chapel we find the image of Şiva as Guru or

teacher; a bearded god, holding the prayer-string in his right hand, placed against his breast, the jar or kuṇḍi in his left, and the chamara over his left shoulder. The triṣûla stands by his right side.

We descend to the terrace to continue our way westward.

7, *a*. Daşaratha's death, represented by the washing of the dead body just as Buddha's death is represented in the last sculpture but one on the back-wall of the first gallery of the Bårâbudur, which is devoted to the life of the deliverer of the present world (1). The deceased is in a sitting posture, with a man, either one of his relations, or a priest, standing behind him and pouring water upon him out of a big vase.

b. Outside the palace dancing and playing continue, signifying the festive preparation of the coronation of Râma, which will not take place, as he is to be banished. As Râma was banished before his father's death, the sculptor was guilty of an anachronism, or his representation is derived from another version of the epic.

c. Râma and Sîtâ, perhaps still unconscious of the fate that awaits them, spend the last night at home in a sound sleep.

d. The sentence of banishment is passed and Râma on his way to the place of his exile. He is accompanied by his faithful spouse and his brother Lakshmana. The people in distress see him off.

8. King Daşaratha's corpse put on the funeral pile

9, *a*. Râma in the wilderness. His half-brother Bharata has travelled after him, to offer him, the lawful heir, the crown.

But Râma, unwilling to act against his father's word,

(1) See my work, mentioned above, p. 31.

refuses to accept the crown before the term of his exile — 14 years—has expired.

b. Bharata submits to Râma's wish, and consents to reign as his father's successor, but only on condition that he shall do so in the name of Râma, whose sandals he will put by his side on the throne.

10. Râma with Sîtâ and Lakshmana in Panchavati forest.

a. They are led by a guide given them by the hermit Agascha.

b. They meet and defeat the first giants of this wilderness, Khara and Dushana, brothers to Râvana, the demonic prince of Lanka (Ceylon). Fiendish faces and diadems, necklaces and bracelets of skulls, signify their malignancy.

In the Râmâyana this fight does not take place until after the meeting with their wicked sister Śûrpanakhâ, but such anachronisms are by no means rare in these sculptures.

In like manner the first appearance of the bird Jatâyu is anterior to the fight with the râkshasas in the Indian epic; but in the order of the sculptures it happens at a later time.

11, *a.* Râma and Lakshmana in their hut in Dandaka forest. If either image were distinguishable as a woman, we might take them for Sîtâ and Lakshmana, but for the intimacy of their postures. Outside we see

b. Râma unattended, hunting and in conversation with the bird's king Jatâyu, an old friend of his father's and son to Vishṇu's vâhana, Gâruḍa. Jatâyu warns Râma against the râkshashas, who, in great numbers, infest Dandaka forest, and promises him to watch over

Sîtâ, while he is out hunting or fighting, attended by his brother.

12, *a*. Râma in his hut. Is the woman, crowned with a glory, who offers him some fruit, his wife Sîtâ? If so, then the repulsive woman behind her must be the râkshasî Şûrpanakhâ, Râvana's wicked sister. But the former may not be meant for Sîtâ, but for the seductive nymph, into whom the female demon was transformed the better to persuade Râma to take her for his wife and abandon Sîtâ to be devoured by her.

But we certainly see the metamorphosis completed in

b, a heavenly beauty trying her charms in the movements of an artful dance.

The sculptor has not represented Şûrpanakhâ being punished by Lakshmana with the loss of her nose and ears, for the next group.

c, shows nothing but two human beings, without any distinguishing mark of rank or sex, in tender embrace.

b. Here we see Şûrpanakha before the throne of her brother Râvana, beseeching him to take revenge of Râma and Lakshmana by killing them and abducting Sîtâ for himself.

The râkshasî is characterized as such by her female attendant.

e. Râvana has ordered Maricha, one of his giants, to assume the shape of a golden gazelle and thus to decoy the two brothers out of the hut, which he does. At Râma's command, however, Lakshmana stays behind to watch over Sîtâ, while he pursues and shoots an arrow at the gazelle. The râkshasa, mortally wounded, reassuming his own shape, calls for help in Râma's voice, upon which Sîtâ in her anxiety urges Lakshmana to obey the voice.

We approach another flight of stairs, leading to the

west chapel. There we see Gaṇeṣa, Ṣiva's son, enthroned on his lotus-cushion, with the skull and the moon's crescent of his divine father in the crown, his third eye in his forehead, and his cobra as upavîta across his left shoulder and his chest. Everywhere else Gaṇeṣa, the god of wisdom, is generally represented in the shape of an elephant, which has lost one of its tusks in the fight with Parashu-Râma. Here he has lost the other tusk too. His left hind hand wields his father's axe or parashu, his right a rosary; the right forehand is lying half-opened on the knee and may have held a lotus rosette; the left forehand holds a little vase or box from which the trunk takes some food. A heavy double disc of light covers the back.

We descend again to the terrace and continue our walk towards the north.

13, *a*. Sîtâ, left alone in the hut, is startled by Râvana, approaching in the form of a mendicant monk.

b. He lays hold of her and drags her off.

c. Having re-assumed his true shape, he carries her through the air to Lanka, his capital in Ceylon. He has 10 heads and 20 armed hands, and rides a winged giant now. In the Indian epic he travels on a golden carriage through the air.

In vain does Jatâyu come to the rescue; in vain does part of Râvana's accoutrement, with his shield (or is it a parasal?) — in the Indian epic with his carriage — fall down in pieces; the old bird is defeated in the unequal fight. The only thing he can do before he sinks down, is to take from Sîtâ the ring she hands him for her husband.

d. Râma and Lakshmana, finding that Sîtâ is not in the hut, go in search of her and meet with the dying

bird, who tells them what has happened and hands to them Sîtâ's ring.

e. The two brothers, still in search of the woman, meet with Kabandha, the son of Lakshmî (the wife of the god Vishṇu), Danu, whom Indra's lightning metamorphosed into a monster. The oracle, however, has predicted that Kabandha will obtain his own shape again, when Râma shall cut off his arms. The head of Kabandha (i. e. headless trunk) has sunk into his trunk, so that his mouth, nose and eyes are placed in his belly, but the sculptor mercifully put another head on his trunk.

f. Râma takes off both his arms by a well-directed shot, and Danu, reborn into his own shape, ascending to heaven on clouds, advises his deliverer to proceed to Kishkindhyâ, and there to assist king Sugrîva in his war against his twin brother Vâli [1]), who robbed him of his crown and his wife. After the recovery of both, Sugrîva will aid Râma with his army of monkeys in the conquest of Lanka and the deliverance of Sîtâ.

14. On their way to Kishkindhyâ, Râma and Lakshmana meet with Ṣabarî [2]), a pious woman of low caste, who looked for the coming of Râma until she had grown old, and, when she had seen him, burnt herself on a funeral pile, from which, re-born into a higher caste, she ascended to heaven.

In the Javanese "Râmâ" this woman was turned into a bird, Suvari Brongti, so the sculptor, who represented her as a woman, must have followed the Indian text.

The water-monster, killed by Râma's arrow, may

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1) Dowson in his "Classical Dictionary" writes Bâli, instead of Vâli. The Javanese write Subali.

2) Ṣarvari, according to Dowson.

have been taken from another version, or may have been inventend by the sculptor.

15, *a*. The brothers meet with Hanumân, the general of Sugrîva's army of monkeys, sent to them by his king. The offering of fruit signifies a request, a petition for assistance against Vâli.

b. Attended by Hanumân and one of his fellow-monkeys, the brothers proceed to Kishkindhyâ.

16. First meeting with Sugrîva. The details of these sculptures are not easy to explain. Sugrîva may be known by his simian, but nowise demonic countenance, and by his sitting on a tree.

17. Râma shoots an arrow through seven kĕlapa-trunks, to show Sugrîva and Hanumân his superiority in skill to Vâli, who can drive his arrow through no more than three trunks.

Cocoa-nuts fallen from the trees and gnawed by squirrels, are lying on the ground. The squirrels have not been forgotten by the sculptor.

18, *a*. Râma and his brother with their attendants, witness the renewed fight between Sugrîva and Vâli. The twin brothers, however, resemble each other so much, that Râma, unable to tell one from the other during the wrestle, dare not shoot for fear of killing the wrong one.

b. For this reason Sugrîva girds an apron of leaves round his loins. Vâli is struck by Râma's arrow. Dying, he confesses his wrong-doings and commends his son to Râma's protection.

c. Sugrîva, having regained his wife and his throne, receives the homage of his subjects.

It is thought that the nation of monkeys in Vâlmiki's epic has some reference to a tribe in South-India, which still lives in the mountainous eastern parts of Ceylon in a primitive, barbaric state, having but little intercourse with

the more civilized Sinhalese. That this opinion is not unfounded, is proved by the event represented here.

These Veddahs wore and, for the greater part, still wear no clothing but an apron of leaves, which is attached to the girdle (a wedding present that is never taken off). The apron consists either of one broad leaf, or of a group of aromatic leaves or twigs of two shrubs, belonging to the genera Atalanta and Glycosmis, or, sometimes, of the rind of the riti-tree, an Urtica. In our days they will often replace this apron by a cotton rag, obtained by barter.

In after-times, when it shall no longer be worn, it may be found back on this ruin.

The representation of the Veddahs as human monkeys may be considered as a testimony of the low degree of development they held in the eyes of the Hindus at the time when the Râma legend was being formed.

We have arrived at the upper flight of stairs on the north side, which we ascend to reach the Durgâ-chapel. There is the really beautiful, great image of Śiva's wife, triumphant, standing on the bull she has killed and in whose shape the demon Mahishâsura stormed the heaven of Indra.

At Indra's prayer for help, Durgâ was created and armed by the gods. Therefore she wields, with a large number of hands (mostly 8 or 10), the divine weapons, among them the chakra and the śankha of Vishṇu and the sword, the bow and arrow, and the shield of other gods. Sometimes also the triśûla of her divine master. Her lowest right hand generally holds the tail of the killed bull, while the left catches the hair of Asura, escaping in his true shape.

The Javanese, having hardly any notion of Durgâ now,

think this image is a representation of lårå or råråå Jonggrang, the daughter of their legendary ratu Båkå, the remains of whose kraton they believe to be found in the ruins of a vihâra or pĕrtapan (a monastery or hermitage) on a spur of the Southern mountains, not far distant from Parambanan. Now, as this lårå (a maiden of gentle birth) is said to have had sexual intercourse, before her marriage with the husband that was destined for her, with an other man, the inhabitants of this region keep up the adat which requires that their daughters shall not be given in marriage as virgins.

From far and near Javanese and Chinese will come to the pretended lårå Jonggrang, to offer her incense and flowers and ask favours of her, or fulfil a vow (kaul) to which they pledged themselves in times of illness or adversity.

Even hajis (pilgrims to Mecca) conform to this "heathenish" custom.

Stronger still, there are Europeans and half-castes, who apply to the image for protection, prosperity, a high prize in a lottery, and Heaven knows what else. About three years ago a young lady of Yogyåkartå prayed to lårå Jonggrang for a husband! What a pity that she refused to inscribe her name upon the list of visitors; now we are unable to ascertain whether the prayer has proved efficacious. Another time we had better luck. A married lady told us that two young ladies had really gained a husband, after offering to the Durga-image. In this way superstition is kept up (1).

19, *a*. Sugrîva and Hanumân attend Râma and

(1) As the image represents nobody else but Durgâ, it is wrong to call this temple, in imitation of ignorant Javanese, chandi lårå onggrang.

Lakshmana on their journey to the coast, whence Sugrîva sends out his generals to reconnoitre.

b. Hanumân, as a son of the wind carried through the air, has crossed to Lanka and alighted in Râvana's park, where Sîtâ is kept prisoner, guarded by râkshasîs. One of them, an old (female) demon, is frightened by Hanumân's sudden appearance. Behind Sîtâ there is another râkshasî, but a younger one, a maid of a noble character, Trijatâ, the daughter of Râvana's noble-minded brother Vibîshana. She has become a comforter and friend to Sîtâ.

20 *a.* Râma and Lakshmana on the coast with Sugrîva.

b. Hanumân, hidden behind a tree, watches the women in Râvana's park.

c. Sîtâ, left alone with Trîjatâ, is approached by Hanumân, who offers to carry her off through the air. The chaste woman, however, refusing to regain her liberty through voluntary contact with any man but her husband, Hanumân can only prepare her for Râma's expected arrival.

21, *a.* Hanumân is discovered and seized by some râkshasas. They bind him and, after wrapping his tail in straw, which they drench with oil, try to burn him alive.

b. Hanumân succeeds in shaking off his tormentors, sets fire to the roof of the palace, and escapes through the air.

22. Hanumân, on his return to Râma and his companions, reports about his reconnoitring journey.

23. They resolve to cross the straits between the continent and the island, for which purpose Râma has tried to drain the sea-arm by means of his flaming arrows, but Sâgara, the sea-god, emerging from the deep to implore compassion for the sufferings of his subjects, advises Râ-

ma to make a roadway, composed of rocks, across the water, with the aid of Hanumân's monkeys and his fishes.

24, *a*. Hanumân and his monkeys carrying pieces of rock and throwing them into the sea, where they are caught and piled up by the fishes to form the rocky way, the remains of which are still known to the inhabitants of the coast by the name of Râma's Bridge.

b. Arrival in the island and march to Lanka.

No further representations are given on this temple, nor can we find their continuation on the other ruins, the remains of this series of sculptures there being too scanty.

Once more we get over the platform in the east, to make our second round, and inspect the images of the gods which are represented as Bodhisatvas.

Bodhisatvas are represented in standing or sitting postures, in the latter case with either one leg or both legs bent under the body. GROENEVELDT says of them (1): "Usually they wear the ornaments of gods, and, as a rule, each of them holds in his left hand, sometimes in both hands, a flower-stalk, leaning against his arm, and with the flower near the shoulder; there are some differences in the flowers and in the position of the hands, for which I have not been able to discover any rule."

Further there is on each lotus-flower a symbol, characterizing the Bodhisatvas of the five Dhyâni-Buddhas, but none of these symbols, with the exception of a single one, which is at the same time an attribute of the heavenly god Indra, are seen on the flowers of the Parambanan images. Their posture, ornaments, and the lotus-stalk in the left hand with the flower near the shoulder

(1) Catalogue of the archaeological collection of the Batavian Society 1887, p. 79.

mark them as Bodhisatvas, but the symbols on the flowers show them to be no Dhyâni-Bodhisatvas.

These symbols, as far as they are still recognizable, belonging to special Hindu divinities, lead me to suppose that the gods are represented there as Bodhisatvas, i. e. manifestations or avatâras of the Buddha.

They wear the usual divine ornaments; sit, cross-legged, on thrones, draped but without lotus-cushions, and each is provided with the lotus-stem, held in the left hand, a symbol of the particular god being seen on the flower.

In some isolated instances the flower with its stalk is replaced by the symbol characterizing the god. From the backs of the seats are hanging Buddhistic prayer-bells, which are additional proofs of the Mahâyânistic character of the images and the temple.

On either side of each god there is the representation of two or (mostly) three followers, in a rectangle, framed separately and a little receding. Their ornaments are as rich as the god's, but the majority of them have neither a glory nor an upavîta; a few of them are uncrowned. Where the god represents a Guru (a Śiva as teacher), the followers are likewise gurus. Some of them are or seem to be women; one is a monkey; in the place of one of them there is a bo-tree.

1. The first divine image bears the vajra, Indra's lightning, on the flower.

2. A Guru, bearded and with the water-jar (kuṇḍi) upon the flower, a rosary in his right hand, the triśûla with a second jar and a chamara by his right side. His bearded followers are provided with the same symbols.

3. No distinct attributes left, only the sacrificial ladles in the hands of the followers remind us of Brahma.

On the forehead a knob like the urna or coil of hair of the Buddha.

4. On the lotus something like a sword and a rosary in the right hand. Some of the followers have sacrificial ladles in their hands, which may suggest Brahma.

5. A sword on the flower. In the place of one of the followers on the right side of the god there is a bo-tree, and in the place of the third on the left there is a monkey.

6. Badly disfigured. On the lotus a long straight object. Sword or sceptre?

7. A sceptre or a club [?] on the flower. The last of the three followers, on the right side of the god, holds a sword in its sheath, in the way the koṇtyå ngampil of the Javanese princes and other dignitaries bear such ampilan (insignia) after their masters (1).

The first of the two followers on the left, holds in his right hand a lotus-flower with a sword as a symbol on the top.

8. On the flower something like a flame, which might be taken for the mark of Agni, the god of fire. But all the followers are bearded gurus or brahmans, one of them with a sacrificial ladle, another with a similar symbol, and the third with an object resembling a Graeco-Roman thyrsus, a bundle of staves or arrows, having a fir-cone at the top.

9. No flower, but a folded flower-bud, on the lotus-stem, and nothing else.

10. The best preserved and most carefully finished of all these divine images. Still the symbol on the flower cannot be made ont, but it suggests the idea of a bell or dagaba.

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(1) See my illustrated works: "In den kědaton te Jogjåkartå" and "De Garěběgs te Jogjåkartå". Published severally by E. J. BRILL, Leyden, and the Koninklijk Instituut voor de T., L-en V.-kunde van N.-Indië.

11. A symbol similar to the one of the preceding image and equally indistinct.

12. Instead of the lotus a cobra, whose crowned head replaces the flower. The god has the posture of the third Dhyâni-Buddha, with the difference that his left hand is not open, but grasps the tail of the snake. The serpent, of course, is emblematical of Şiva.

The Dhyâni-posture, though unimportant in itself, deserves notice, because, in connection with other details, such as the bo-tree of the fifth group, and the prayer-bells hanging from the backs of all the couches, it points to Buddhism.

13. The god resembles the preceding one, but his opened right hand does not rest on his knee, but on his chest. Hence not a particular Dhyâni posture. The snake, however, again suggests Şiva. One of the followers has a lotus with a dagaba-shaped symbol on the top of the flower.

14. The left hand of the god is empty, but a trişûla by his right side again marks Şiva. One of the followers holds a lotus, surmounted with a dagaba shaped symbol.

15. The flame on the flower points to Agni. Four of the six followers hold lotus-flowers, three of which also bear symbols in the shape of cupolas, suggestive of dagabas.

16. On the flower a globe, out of which three flames rise, like the prongs of a trişûla, pointed and serpentine. These symbols may indicate Agni, as well as Şiva.

17. No lotus in the left hand, but a bow and arrow instead. Perhaps Râma? But Brahma and some other gods are also sometimes represented with a bow and arrow, at least in India. The followers, by their bosoms, seem to be maidens, and wear what GROENEVELDT calls women's strings, though they also are worn by gods and Bodhisatvas [1]). Their faces are however more masculine

1). See below under Chandi Pĕlahosan.

than their breasts would lead us to expect.

18. Kuvéra, the infernal god of wealth, though without the usually well-filled bags or vases with which he is generally represented. Yet he is sufficiently characterized by his obesity and his four infernal followers; though he is provided with the winged conch of Vishṇu as a symbol.

19. The image is so much injured that it cannot be made out for whom it is meant. But the flower, here too, bears a symbol in the form of a cupola, with a little protuberance at the top, like a dagaba with the basis of the cone that mostly crowns a dagaba. The four followers are demons, the two on the left side of the god are females.

20. The flower is all but gone. Of the symbol nothing is left; the image, very beautiful, has a mark like Buddha's urna on its forehead(1). The demonic countenance of one of the six followers reminds us of the infernal regions and of Yama, the divine judge of the dead.

21. Kâla, i. e. Śiva as the god of death, all-destroying Time. We have already remarked that Kâla in Java, under Buddhistic influence, has lost his horrific attributes. This being the case, this image affords additional evidence of the Buddhistic origin of these temples. The trident by the side of the god and the skull on the flower, as well as the triṣûlas of two of the six followers, indicate Kâla.

22. Like the preceding image: another Kâla.

23. The symbol on the flower represents the Véda, leaves of palm-trees, tied in a bundle, which holy book is one of Brahma's attributes. What the disc, on the

(1) Some more Bodhisatvas show this mark, a. o. the Bodhisatvas of the Chaṇḍis Pĕlahosan and Sâjivan, which have been placed in the museum at Yogyâkartâ. See below. It is another Buddhistic mark of the divine images of Parambanan.

right side behind the god, means, I do not presume to decide. I hardly dare suggest the idea of a celestial globe, surrounded by the horizon. The sacrificial ladles of two of the six followers confirm the identification of the god with Brahma.

24. This image too is so much injured that it has become unrecognizable. The flame on the flower of one of he follo wers may be an indication of Agni.

B. THE VISHṆU TEMPLE.

The chaṇḍi Vishṇu is situated north of the Ṣiva temple. Two flights of stairs lead to the terrace and from there to the entrance of the inner room, which is smaller than that of the Ṣiva temple. The walls are devoid of ornaments, but each of them has two projecting stones, which perhaps served to place lamps or offering flowers on. They are too small to have borne images.

The great Vishṇu image (about 7 feet), like that of Mahâdeva in the chief temple, has been rebuilt with its fragments by MR. GESSNER, and put on its pedestal, or what remained of it. The latter is shaped like the pedestal of the great god, but with less ornamentation.

Vishṇu has a crown, a glory, and four arms; the upper right hand bears a flaming chakra, the symbol of the radiant sun, and the left, the winged conch, ṣankha.

The lower right hand rests on a club, and the left holds a triangle the base of which is turned upwards, perhaps the pyramid turned upside down, the symbol of water.

In the same room we found the fragments of three small figures, which we have placed in our museum. They represent:

1. Vishṇu bearing his wife or ṣakti, Lakshmî or Ṣrî, in the shape of a dwarf on his left arm, no uncommon representation of Indian gods with their wives.

2. Vishṇu in his fourth avatâra, as Narasinha or lion-man, in which form he rips open the belly of the demon Hiranya Kasipu, who denies the existence of gods. Though protected by Brahma against gods, men, and animals, the demon cannot withstand the god in whom human and animal force are united.

3. Vishṇu's fifth avatâra: Vâmana. In the guise of a dwarf he approached the pious Daicha-king Bali, who by rigorous penance had obtained power over the three worlds, heaven, earth, and the lower world, and dethroned the gods.

The dwarf asked and obtained as much as he could step in three paces, whereupon, assuming the appearance of a giant, he strode in three steps through the world: earth, heaven, and the lower regions, Patalâ, but out of compassion he left the lower world in the possession of the conquered king. Hence the representation of Vâmana, as he is found here, standing on one leg and stretching the other heavenward. Another, smaller image of Vâmana, found among the rubbish shows a third leg, directed towards the lower world. This image, too, is now at Yogyâkartâ.

Our visit to the terrace need not take much time, as only a few stones of the third series have remained in their places, so that it is as yet impossible to make out the connection between the representations.

The fourth series has not suffered much. The east side of the temple being the only one, divided into two by stairs, there are not more than 21 mural faces with 27 groups of images, 3 of which are found on each of the longer outsides of the southern, western, and northern projections. Each group is again a modified representation of the same idea: a god as Bodhisatva, seated on a high

throne without a padmâsana, between two women, standing behind him, generally holding in one hand the stalk of a lotus, which shoots forth from the ground, and whose flower rises above the shoulder.

They are like the women on the wall of the Båråbudur, on both sides of the men resembling Bodhisatvas, who present offerings. They might be taken for heavenly nymphs, apsarasas, attendant on the gods before them, but for the upavîtas, the crowns, and the glories, which mark nearly all of them as superior beings, perhaps — the lotus-stalks make this supposition probable — (female) Bodhisatvas.

Inspecting the groups one by one, starting south of the stairs, we find:

1. on the flower the same symbol that in the first temple suggests a dagaba; a spherical cupola, crowned with a small protuberance, like the base of a top-piece in the shape of a column or cupola. For briefness' sake, I shall use the word dagaba to denote this object, which by far the greater number of the divine images and a few of the women or nymphs have on their flowers. The god holds the lotus-stalk in his right hand. Each of the two women has a flower-stalk in the outer hand, and one a chamara in the other.

2. The triṣula on the right is a mark of Ṣiva. The women hold the lotus-stalks in their left hands. They are not finished. There is a dagaba on the flower.

3. The same symbol. The nymphs have the stalk by the inner side. The woman on the left behind the god has the bud of another lotus-flower in her right hand.

4. The right hand is like that of Ratna Sambhava, the third Dhyâni-Buddha. There is a dagaba on the flower. The woman on the right holds the lotus-stalk in her left, the other a lotus-flower in her right hand.

5. A dagaba on the flower. The woman on the left of the god has the flower-stalk by her left side. The other is scarcely half-finished, and the lotus-flower on her right side is still indistinct.

6. The chakra on the flower denotes Vishnu. The flowers on the outer sides of the nymphs are crowned with dagabas. The woman standing on the right behind the god has another lotus-bud in her right hand. The god has the posture of the third Dhyâni-Buddha.

7. The same posture and the same symbol. The lotus-stalks of the women rise through the hands on the inner side.

8. Posture and symbol as before. The lotus-stalks by the left sides of the women.

9. The same symbol. The woman on the left of the god has the stalk by her left side and a flower in her right hand. Of the other woman, with the flower-stalk on her left side, only the outlines are sketched. No glory seems to have been intended for her.

10. The god has on his left side a bow and arrow, instead of a lotus. The woman on the left has the flower-stalk on her right side. The other has no flower.

11. The god has no flower-stalk. Each of the two nymphs holds a flower-stalk in her right hand.

12. A broad-ended sword or a club (?) in the right hand of the god. The women have the flower-stalks on their right sides. The woman on the left has no glory.

13. The god has in his left hand, in stead of a flower-stalk, an indistinct object resembling a staff or stick, with a flag attached to it; and in his right hand a lotus surmounted by a cone provided with an unrecognizable appendix, seemingly hanging down from the top. The woman on the left has no glory. Both the women have the lotus-stalks on their left sides, but are very roughly worked

or have suffered much injury from the weather. Probably the sculptor had not finished them.

14. The god is wanting. The stone out of which he was to have been sculptured. is still plain. An additional proof that the building of the temple was first completed, and the sculptures were cut out afterwards.

The women hold their lotus-stalks in the hands on the inner side. The woman on the left is unfinished, the other is a little nearer completion.

15. The god has the posture of the third Dhyâni-Buddha. On the lotus there is a veda-bundle, which, for want of room, has been placed upright. This symbol is a mark of Brahma. The lotus-stalks of the two women are on their inner sides. The right hand seems to water the flower out of a jar, but is not finished. The dagaba-symbol is seen on both flowers.

16. A nicely finished image of some god. On the flower a dagaba. The women hold the flower-stalks in their left hands. The woman on the left is only rough-hewn.

17. The symbol is a dagaba. The posture of the third Dhyâni-Buddha. The woman on the left has a flower-stalk by her left side, the other only a flower in her right hand.

18. A well-finished image of some god with Vishṇu's chakra on the flower and, in his right hand, a flower with a dagaba. The woman on the left is not wholly finished. Both the women have the lotus by their right sides.

19. The symbol is a dagaba. The posture of the third Dhyâni-Buddha. Both the women are without glories and not quite finished. The woman on the left has the flower-stalk by her left side; the flower of the other woman was apparently intended for the right side.

20. The god has in his left hand a sacrificial ladle with a crooked handle instead of the lotus-stalk. This may also be indicative of Brahma. The posture is like that of the

second Dhyâni-Buddha, Akshobya. The women have the stalk by their inner sides.

21. Guru, without a flower. The two hands, like those of the fourth Dhyâni-Buddha, in the lap, Half-finished. The woman on the left is well-finished and beautiful.

She has the stalk in her right hand, and the left hand holds only a flower with the dagaba symbol. The other is not finished.

22. Posture of the third Dhyâni-Buddha. The symbol is a dagaba with something like a rising flame, not distinct. Agni? Both the women have the flower-stalk in their inner hands, but the woman on the left holds a flower in her right hand too.

23. A sword (?) on the flower. The flower-stalks by the inner sides of the women.

24. The (perpendicular) veda-bundle of Brahma on the flower, which rises from the right hand. The woman on the left has the stalk by her right side; the other grasps, with both her hands before her breast, a straight stalk or stem, pointed to her right shoulder. At the top of the stem there is something like a bud or flower (?).

25. To the right of the god there is a flower with the ṣankha or conch of Vishṇu on the top. The women too have their flowers, crowned with dagabas, by their right sides. The woman on the left, whose flower-stalk reaches no higher than the right hip, seems to hold the symbol in her left hand over the flower.

26. Instead of the lotus-stalk there is Ṣiva's cobra with the crowned head in the left hand of the god. The women have no flowers.

27. The god has in his right hand the flower with an indistinct symbol, and in his left hand a straight stick to which an object unknown to me is attached, like a pick-axe to its shaft. The woman on the left has a stalk

surmounted by a dagaba by her right side. The stalk of the other woman, rising by her right side, is bent round behind her back, so that the flower is placed outside her left shoulder, with its top in front, and consequently has no symbol. She has a jar in her left hand.

C. THE BRAHMA TEMPLE.

The southern ruin was, in its form, like the Vishṇu temple, but has suffered more still. The Brahma image in its inner room lies still, broken into pieces, on the floor. It was a few inches higher than the Vishṇu image, and had four arms and four crowned faces, so that there was no room for a glory. A wart, resembling a bud, in a little circle over a small curve on the forehead, uniting the Śiva and the Vishṇu marks, which the creative god sometimes wears, probably testified that he partook of the power of both.

The upper right hand holds the rosary, the left a padma or lotus-flower, the other two hands, hanging down, hold a water-jar on the left and a lotus-rosette on the right. The pedestal is like Vishṇu's, and is also much damaged.

In the same room the fragments of three smaller images have been found. During my six years' absence from Yogyåkartå they disappeared, and I have not yet found them back.

They were:

a four-headed Brahma image with eight arms, in whose hands we still recognized a flower-stalk, the hilt of a sword, and a lotus-bud;

a four-headed image, with six arms, holding a sword, an arrow, a shield, and a conch; and

a four-headed, four-armed image, which held in its hands a flower, a trident, a shield, and a conch.

These Brahma's, for as such we must consider them, though provided with Ṣiva and Vishṇu attributes, may again serve as evidence that the three chief gods of the Hindus in these temples were thought to be one, or, to express it more correctly, avatâras of one primogenial god or one original principle. That this can have been no other but Buddha or Adi-Buddha, is, I think, evident from the Mahâyânistic character, which various marks, indubitably Buddhistic, lead us to assign to these ruins.

The remains of the third series of sculptures on this temple are still scantier than on the Vishṇu temple. Of the second series, on the outside of the parapet, just like there, nothing is left. The detached lower stones with little Gurus or monks (bhikshus), which were put outside against the few (higher) stones of the third series (during my journey to Europe in 1890), ought not to be placed there, as the second and third series of these two temples too must have been of equal height and crowned by a common cornice.

This cornice, like that of the Ṣiva temple, bore, at the tops of the stairs, in the shallow circular exavations which are still perfectly visible on the great middle temple, the fluted spherical blocks of stone, crowned, like dagabas, with little columns or cones, which I take to be chaityas, resembling some on the sculptures of the Bårâbudur, where they are, however, not channelled. That the latter, notwithstanding the bell shape is much more usual, are chaityas, i. e. ornamental dagabas, devoid of ashes or relics, is proved by the indications scratched in the stone over them.

D. THE TEMPLES ON THE EAST SIDE
and the little temples outside the terrace.

In the middle temple, the principal of these smaller ruins, there is a humped Indian bull of magnificent build, as large as life, on a plain pedestal, which has not the shape of an altar. This colossal monolith represents Ṣiva's vâhana, the Nandi. His head is turned towards the chief temple of the western row, where his master is enthroned.

Among the Javanese and the Mongolians, who are related to them, and even among the Europeans, there are some who believe that a man, who, mounted on the Nandi's back, wishes to become rich, stands a fair chance of having his wish fulfilled some day.

Behind the bull there are two small images, each standing on a chariot, so small as to be out of all proportion, drawn by horses. The one with seven horses is Sûrya, the sun-god; the other, with ten horses, Chandra or Soma: the Moon. Sûrya holds a flower in each hand. Chandra has three eyes, the third being placed in the forehead; a flower wrapped in clouds in his right hand, and a banner in the left. These symbols, notwithstanding others are wanting, are sufficient indications of the two gods.

The northern chaṇḍi contained a Ṣiva image with a common upavîta, a skull and a lunar crescent; the third

eye over the nose, a glory behind the head, and some fragment of a chamara over the left shoulder. All the other attributes, as well as the four hands, were lost.

The pedestal was shaped like an altar, but smaller and plainer than those of the chief images in the western chandis.

We can say but little with certainty about the remains of the 157 miniature chandis. They consist of the base and some blocks of the walls, but the images and the contents of the little wells which once were enclosed by them, and which might have taught us so much, have disappeared altogether.

Innumerable carved stones were carried off out of the vast heap of rubbish which till 1889 and 1890 covered and hid the greater part of the three western ruins. I have spoken before of the many fluted chaityas and cone or column-shaped top-stones.

Equally numerous are other top-pieces, some with four sides ending in a point, some shaped like pears or flames. Their original places can no more be found out.

Some of them have been arranged by the sides of the roads or elsewhere, others have been collected in great masses, but the images, as far as possible, have been placed, partly in and about the wooden building where visitors are received, partly in the museum of the capital.

Vaster and grander than this group of temples is the magnificent, the unique Bårâbudur, which is perhaps only second to the ruins of Angkor in Siamese Kambodia, though certainly not in its details; but in beauty, exquisite workmanship, and imposing majesty the sculpture-works of Parambanan are not surpassed by those on any other monument of an extinct civilization.

IV. CHANDI LUMBUNG AND CHANDI BUBRAH.

On the right side of the country-road which leads from the Parambanan temples northward to the »thousand temples", beyond the boundaries of Sålå, at about half a mile's distance, there is, first, a small group of ruins, which from the form and the size of the little temples was named chandi Lumbung (a rice-barn); and, farther on, a single chandi, still more dilapidated, which was therefore called by the Javanese chandi Bubrah.

Both are, no doubt, of Buddhistic character.

The group consisted of one chief temple in a square of 16 smaller chandis. The latter were squares with pyramidal roofs, at the base with eight sides, over the cornice, the four angles of which bore dagabas, bell-shaped or rather cylindrical and ending in cupolas, which were crowned with little columns or cones.

Probably the roof pyramid of the great central ruin, though higher, had the same form.

This chief temple had an entrance in the east wall, with or without a porch, which was reached by steps.

The entrances, with steps, of the 16 small chandis were

either in the wall facing the chief temple or in one facing another temple of the same row.

The wells (of course) were robbed of their contents long ago, and images have not been found by us, save one in high relief sculpture, which was lying outside the main temple.

It has no distinct marks. Perhaps it represents a Bodhisatva (though no Dhyâni-Bodhisatva) or a god. The right hand holds a long-shafted object, which may be either a chamara or fly-flap, or a lance with a streamer floating flom the top.

The chandi Bubrah, though larger than the principal temple of the Lumbung group, is a great deal smaller than that of Parambanan. Its foot, which is the only part remaining, had 20 sides and was placed upon a basement, forming a small terrace, wnich surrounded it on all sides. The outside of the basement was of a plain, but tasteful style. The superstructure probably bore Buddha niches, either in the walls or over the cornice; this may be inferred from several Dhyâni-Buddhas, found among the rubbish. These images are comparatively small, and all headless now. The only Buddha head found back fitted on one of the images, an Amitâbha, which was, with the head, placed in the museum of the capital.

The well, which was opened, searched, and filled up with earth and stones, many years ago, of course now contained no cinerary urn or other particular object that might have proved instructive. If I mistake not, a. o. the famous painter raden SALEH was digging here thirty and odd years ago.

The entrance to the inner room and the steps leading to it were on the east side.

V. CHANDI SEVU.

The "thousand temples" had the largest circumference of all the chandi groups in these parts.

The principal temple, much surpassing the others in size, stood on a raised rectangular terrace, enclosed by a (probably) low wall, which was pierced by four gateways in the middle of the sides.

A little lower there were 28 chandis forming a rectangular enclosure, and another more spacious court was enclosed by 44 miniature temples. The entrances of all the temples were in the sides turned away from the chief temple.

It is probable that this rectangular terrace was enclosed by a lower one, much more spacious, bearing not more than 5 middle-sized temples, of which only part of the foundations remain, two about the middle of the east side, two in the west and one in the north side.

This almost empty space was enclosed by a rectangular lower terrace with 80 miniature temples, all having their entrances in the walls facing the chief temple; and finally there was the outermost, and lowermost, restangular court formed by 88 small mausolea, each with its entrance on the outside.

The intervening space between the last two enclosures is larger than that between the first two.

The corner temples had their entrances in the walls forming part of the longer sides of the rectangles, east and west.

We may suppose that there were paths, leading from the middle of the including lines of the whole group to the corresponding sides of the central terrace and the entrances of the chief temple, and that there were steps leading up to the successive terraces.

There were also four flights of steps leading to the outermost terrace.

At present we find no regular terraces there, but uneven, overgrown ground, gently rising to the middle.

The steps too are gone.

At the bottom of the outermost stairs there were—or rather, there are still—two huge guards of the temples, each cut out of one piece of stone, one facing the other.

Their outer legs rest on the knees, the others, bent in the knees, rest with the soles of the feet on the ground, or on plain pedestals, sunk into the ground.

Their hair-dress is like that of the demons found among the sculptures of other chandis, such as the third series of images on the Ṣiva temple at Parambanan, and it is for this reason, and on account of teir protruding eyes and their tusk-like canine teeth, that they have often — though unjustly (1) — been described as râkshasas.

We can hardly admit that the Hindus, who believed in repeated re-births, should have entrusted their dead to the care of evil spirits, who desecrated graves and outraged the dead.

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(1) See my article: "Tempelwachters" in the Tijdschrift voor de Indische Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde of 1899.

My opinion is that all these images represent Kâla, i. e. Śiva as the god of Death or all-consuming Time, to whom the worshippers of Śiva attributed all the horrors of the Indian Kâla — as is shown by the two colossal temple-guards of Singâsari (between Lawang and Malang) — but whom the Buddhists, to whom death was no enemy, but a deliverer, represented as a peaceful god, with no other symbol of death but a club, and occasionally, as here, a grim, fierce countenance, both attributes being derived from the original Indian Kâla.

This opinion is confirmed by another symbol, viz. the upavîta they wear. It is here, as in most cases, the cobra, which belongs exclusively to Śiva as Mahâdeva or as Kâla, and his son Ganeśa, of whom there can be no question here, as all other emblems of this god are wanting.

In front of the Pĕlahosan ruins (1), and in the grounds of the resident's house at Yogyâkartâ, there are some temple-guards wearing the common sacred thread about their chests.

The enormous weight of these eight images explains the fact that they are still in their places, though sunk more or less out of the perpendicular now. The images of the guards in the grounds at Yogyâkartâ, which are not much less heavy, were probably removed to their present position in the time when the Government's civil officers could still command almost unlimited unpaid labour.

Many of the 240 miniature temples have come down altogether, some for the greater part, but of a few, though they too have suffered much, the form can still be made out sufficiently.

(1) See below.

Mr. L. MELVILLE, the draughtsman I had occasion to mention in a preceding chapter, now a State-Railway functionary, made a careful drawing of it for the committee appointed by the Dutch government to regulate the works of group XVII of the Paris International Exhibition of 1900 (1).

Each of the diminative temples formed a square with a little porch and small steps leading up to the inner room. The entrances, at least of the chandis which were completed, were framed with Nâga-Garuḍa ornaments.

The outside of each porch was adorned with bas-relief sculptures, and the front walls of the temple on each side were cut into panels filled with standing images, holding lotus-stalks in one hand, and some with a lotus-flower in the other.

Each of the other walls showed a central image and, separated from it by plain pilasters, two smaller side figures. Some of the central images suggest Bodhisatvas, some are women. They are surmounted by more or less distinct Garuḍa ornaments. Prayer-bells are hanging from some open Nâga mouths, and garlands of flowers from the Garuḍa mouth.

Some sculptures, especially of the outmost temples, are unfinished; a few walls are still blanks.

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(1). For this purpose Mr. M. spent a considerable time in the plain of Parambanan, but he is said by the directors of the Archaeological Society who live there and are charged with the immediate supervision of the labours undertaken by the Society, to have proceeded so roughly that the state of some of the ruins has become much worse. Some directors of the Batavian Society who recently visited Parambanan, have laid the blame upon the directors of the Archaeological Society, without knowing that Mr. M. asserted thas this Society had no right to interfere with his work and that he was free to do as he liked. Which he did.

The lower part of the roof consisted of eight perpendicular sides over the cornice, leaving room for a dagaba or chaitya, more cylindrical than bell-shaped, on each of the four corners of the temple. Here, as elsewhere, these ornaments were surmounted by small cones.

On the octagon rested a padmâsana, crowned with a larger dagaba. As a rule the walls of the inner rooms are void of ornamentation. There is a very beautiful exception in a little temple in the inmost rectangle, east of the southern entrance to the chief temple. Here each of the three walls shows a thick lotus-stalk rising out of the ground, from which, at the height of a man's waist, three branches shoot forth, a perpendicular one in the middle and two bent sideways, each ending in an unfolded flower bearing a nicely-sculptured niche, in shape not unlike a lantern. No images have been found in them.

In front of another temple, in the rectangle enclosing the preceding one, west of the same path, Mr. MELVILLE dug up an oblong block of stone, perhaps the lintel of a door. Its front side was ornamented with foliage, under which there was a narrow projecting band, bearing a rough shallow inscription in Old-Javanese characters, which was read by Dr. BRANDES and by professor KERN. BRANDES deciphered (one of the last letters is rather indistinct): "mahâprattaya sang raguntiing", i.e. a votive donation of Gunting (1), and KERN: "mahâprattaya sang Ranggânting, or: great donations of the Rangga Anting. (2).

It is difficult to say what is meant by the donation now. Is it the stone alone, or is it the whole of the little tem-

(1) Minutes of the meeting of directors of the Batavian Society, June 1898.

(2) Bijdragen of the Koninklijk Instituut of 1898, p. 548.

ple, perhaps built over the remains of some distinguished relation or some venerated person, or does it mean some sculpture-work either in this temple or another? In any case we may infer that such chandis or such groups of temples, though the general design was prescribed by government, were built by the coöperation of several persons, perhaps in the manner followed in our days in the celebrated Campo Santo of Genoa.

The stone has found a place in the little museum at Yogyâkartâ.

Some of the smaller ruins contain a small square pedestal more or less beautifully hewn, without a sink. Others probably have found their way to surrounding estates, where they serve the purpose of ornaments for the garden or stands for flowerpots.

Of course they were originally intended to bear images, namely of Dhyâni-Buddhas, like the few which — though headless — are still found round about the ruins. The loss of all the others may, therefore, be imputed not only to more or less unprincipled collectors, but certainly also — and in the first place — to destroying fanatics.

Nearly a century ago the statement was made that the position of the hands proved the Dhyâni-Buddhas then found about the chandis in the different sides of the rectangles to be not exclusively those commanding the corresponding quarters of the horizon, there being a. o. Amitâbhas in the east and south, Amogasiddhas in the south, Akshobhyas in the western and Ratna-Sambhavas in the northern and southern rows. Still we are bound to assume that, in accordance with what we see on the Bårâbudur in Java and many other ruins on the continent of Asia, here too the second Dhyâni-Buddha was enthroned in the eastern row of temples,

the third in the south, the fourth in the west, and the fifth in the north. And the first, Vairochana? Opposite to the zenith of course, hence, either in or upon the chief temple, or in the chandis of the inmost, the highest, rectangle.

There are hardly any remains of the 5 somewhat larger ruins in the space between the inmost and the outmost rectangles.

The chief temple, like many others, formed a square with a rectangular projection on each side, or a polygon of 20 sides and eight re-entering angles. Its foot had the same form and must have made a narrow terrace round about the temple.

The four projections extended so far — much farther indeed than elsewhere — that the whole had the appearance of a broad-armed cross with square annexes in the four corners.

The eastern projection contained the porch and the entrance to the inner room; in the other three there were separate chapels, communicating with each other and the porch.

The fronts of the projections being broken by the doors, there were 24 divisions on the outside of the temple, ornamented with nicely framed panels. Just as the insides of the walls of the Śiva temple at Parambanan, they were filled with flowers or rosettes in basrelief (1), and occasionally showed the images of deer, tigers, or other animals. The 8 divisions in the corners of the projections may have had niches. The outside of the base was divided into foliaged panels.

(1) The resemblance is so great, that the ornaments in the two temples seem to be made by the same hand after the same designs.

The cornice of the interior part of the building, which rose to a great height and was higher than the outer parts, and the pyramidal roof, which must have rested on it, are lost, but the hewn stones and especially the dagabas and cone-tops found among the rubbish, justify the belief that, just as at Kalasan, the cornice bore an octangular superstructure, which was divided into niches and small panels or bands of foliage, and had a less ponderous cornice of its own, covered with dagabas.

Higher up and further inward there was perhaps another series of smaller niches and dagabas, but undoubtedly one grand dagaba crowned the whole.

The roof-niches may have held images of the first Dhyâni-Buddha, who, we know, ought to command the zenith.

There were flights of rather broad steps leading to the four entrances; in the east side to the porch. Then there was a larger front-room with a smaller back-room, intercommunicating through a door-opening in the transverse wall between them. Each of the two side-walls of the front-room contained three high narrow niches, framed and separated by broad pilasters. The capitals have the shape of an unfolded flower-bud, the leaves of which, partly standing out, in three pairs form pointed arches over the niches.

The niches, as usual, are crowned with Garuḍa ornaments.

The little back-room has on each side an outlet to a terrace running close along the wall of the inner part of the building, and leading in the same way through the other three outer parts.

On the foot of the bands in the corners of the inner walls there are images of animals.

Some steps lead to a third passage through the back-

wall to the inner room, the high walls of which are not ornamented. An altar-shaped throne along the whole length of the back-wall occupies more than half the space in the room. This altar too is wholly void of ornamentation, though it must have been the seat of the principal image in this temple. Which image? Perhaps, as I have hinted above, the first Dhyâni-Buddha? I think not, for in cleasing these inner rooms another large Buddha image has been found, far surpassing in size those of the miniature temples, and even the images of the Bårâbudur.

But this image has lost its head and its right hand. The left hand rests in its lap, as that of the last 4 Dhyâni-Buddhas, so it cannot have been a Vairochana. Only the right fore-arm is raised a little above the thigh in front, being supported by a little edge. But where is the lost hand? It has not been found back, though I have promised a reward of ten guildens for the finder.

I know only two Buddhas who hald their right fore-arms above their thighs and their left hands in their laps. It is the fifth Dhyâni-Buddha, Amogasiddha, and the preacher on the highest wall of the Bårâbudur, who commands all the quarters of the sky. (1)

But I am of opinion that there can be no question of the former, i. e. the fifth, the future Buddha, the deliverer of a yet uncreated world hereafter, unless in connection with all the others as avatâras of the one, immaterial Adi-Buddha, hence in the northern miniature temples of the rectangles, in which all of them (or all except the first) are represented, and on the northern walls of the Bårâbudur.

To the Buddhists of this world only the Buddha, GAUTAMA, or the fourth Dhyâni-Buddha of the Mahâyânists,

(1) See my Bårâbudur-guide, pp. 57 et seq.

is of superior value, but the fifth, the future, of no value at all.

But the Buddha of this world (hence no Dhyâni-Buddha) in the highest state of development, after attaining Buddha-hood, which is typified by the posture of the second Dhyâni-Buddha (1), seems to me to be quite logical in the seat of honour, as in the great central dagaba of the Bårâbudur; and no less the same "Enlightened one", the perfect teacher, preaching the law, which is represented by the chakra, formed by the thumb and the fore finger of the raised right hand.

Our image, however, cannot have represented the former (as the fore-arm is not resting on the thigh), but it may have been meant for the latter, and this is why I think that the latter, the teacher of the law, the Buddha in his highest manifestation of life, was once enthroned on the altar in this temple. If we assume that another image was placed on it, the question rises, what purpose the image found in the temple had to serve.

To prevent further damage I have got the image transported to the museum (2).

The interior of the three chapels is like that of the porch, with this difference only that the back-wall of each of the small back-rooms has no outlet and is adorned with three high niches.

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(1) See my "Tyandi-Bårâbudur in Central Java", p. 62.

(2) A larger image could not have got through the inner door-opening, so that, if such a one had been there, we must have found it among the rubbish. From this we infer that no such image ever was there at the time when the temple was destroyed, though, like the colossal images of the chandi Mĕndut, it must have been placed there before all the walls of the temple were built, leaving no passage but through the door-openings.

Remains of pedestals have been found only in a few of the central niches. (The total number of the niches in the back-walls was once 9 (3 × 3), and, if we include the lateral niches, it amounts to 33).

Perhaps Buddha-images (Vairochana?) were seated on the pedestals, and the side-niches may have contained Bodhisatvas as attendants.

Since the rubbish has been removed from all the inner rooms which are not wholly destroyed, one can walk through and about them, to inspect all the walls from the inside and from the outside, so that there is no occasion for further clearing, as the walls, which, though standing, are anything but firm, can scarcely suffer to be deprived of what has become an indispensable support.

All the door-openings are surmounted with the Garuda-Nâga-ornament.

VI. CHANḌI PĔLAHOSAN.

The group of ruins called by this name is situated about a mile east north east of chanḍi Sevu. The appellation of chanḍi properly applies only to the great number of small funeral temples which surrounded the two principal buildings at some distance, but these buildings, like the so-called "chanḍi" Sari, must have been no mausolea but monasteries.

There are only few traces left of these little chanḍis, but their foundations may be found back among the alang-alang and under the bushes and shrubs of the overgrown spot.

In YZERMAN's book we read (1), and the drawings by MELVILLE, added to it, show, what the whole group may have looked like in earlier times: the two monasteries inclosed by one rectangle of miniature temples, lying within two rectangles of many circular and some square monuments, with, at some distance north and south of this group, two square spaces, surrounded by similar round and square fabrics.

These square miniature temples, whose entrances were not exclusively in the sides farthest from the principal buildings, were little chanḍis, like those of Parambanan and chanḍi Sevu, and, presumably, were built over the

(1) Pp. 101 et seq; plates XXIX et XXX.

ashes of monks or priests attached to the temples in the vicinity, who lived in the monasteries.

The round pedestals may, in accordance with similar graves in India, have borne plainer and less expensive tombs in the shape of dâgabas, such as can still be pointed out amidst the rubbish round about; perhaps they belonged to less noted or travelling monks or lay-brothers. Their equal size and their place in the same rectangles inclosing the same monasteries can hardly be accounted for differently, and their shape suggests the original Buddhistic grave-stone, the stupa or dâgaba.

The two monasteries, still resting on their old foundations, are without roofs or cornices, so that they are in a further state of dilapidation than the so-called chanḍi Sari.

They are situated near each other in one line between north and south, and their fronts face the west. They have the form of a long square with a small porch in front. The eight steps leading to the porches were provided with banisters, shaped like Nâgas, and terminating in monster-heads. These banisters are entire only at the northern building; of the banisters of the southern building only the Nâga-heads at the bottom, and the Garuḍa-heads at the top end are left. There are small lions in a sitting posture in the months of the Nâgas.

A path must have led from the open field outside the miniature temples up to each of the flights of steps, but not a straight one, as opposite and very near to the stairs of the northern monastery there is a set of 5 steps leading to the one of the miniature temples, a greater part of which is still extant than of any other. M.'s drawing in the work of YZERMAN (pl. XXIX) is, therefore, not correct.

Outside the whole rectangle, on the spot, where the

paths began, there are still four temple-guards, two at each path. They are a good deal smaller than those of chaṇḍi Sevu and wear no cobras, but the usual cord as upavîta round the chest, but they have a serpent in one hand, a club in the other, and a short sword on the hip.

The whole rectangle must once have been walled-in, and was perhaps divided into two squares by a transverse wall. I say: perhaps, because the transverse wall is not in keeping with the undivided rectangle of miniature temples and dâgaba-bases, nor should I have made mention of it, if it were not marked in MELVILLE's drawing.

Leaving out of consideration the little projectiong porch, each of the two principal buildings had the form of a long rectangle, divided into three oblong rooms, the longer sides of which run parallel to the shorter ones of the building.

The walls, again, are very thick.

The central room communicated through a door-openning in the front- wall with the porch, and two doors in the front part of the side-walls opened into the two side-rooms, each of which received some air and light through two small square windows in the two sides forming the outer front-corner.

Low-relief sculptures were cut with much art in the outside of the walls. They are seen in the best state of preservation in some walls of the northern building.

Its foot still shows small panels with festoons, framed between pilasters, and over them there are large panels with standing Bodhisatvas, flanked by high pilasters, which are disproportionately narrow, and covered by a wreathed arch, from which 4 prayer-bells hang down.

The entrance at the top of the stairs, of course, was also adorned with a richly-worked conventional Nâga-Garuḍa ornament, of which only the Nâga-heads are still extant, but so much spoiled by the influence of the weather

and overgrown with moss, that the animals, which may have been contained in the widely opened mouths, have become unrecognizable.

Beside the entrance to the porch of the southern ruin we still see the feet of a standing panel-image, holding a scent-offering, but no lotus-plant.

The Bodhisatvas, as far as we can still distinguish them on the temple-wall, have beautiful lotus-stalks by their sides, and their left hands hold large rosettes, inclining in front, without any symbols.

Each side-wall of the porch has a niche, framed with the ornament common to all the niches and doors, but there are, besides, two gandharvas, hovering over the Garuḍa head.

The inner door too was adorned with the same ornament, but only the Nâga-heads are extant, and the parrots in the mouths are hardly recognizable now. Beneath these heads there is a basement with a covering piece, supported by dwarfs.

Along the back-wall of each central and each side room there was a broad altar, which is either wholly destroyed or badly damaged. In the former case the side-images still extant, which were enthroned on them, now sit on the ground with their lotus-cushions under them. The central images have all disappeared. In one of the 6 rooms, however, a piece of the padmâsana is left.

In each side-wall there was a niche again. No heavenly beings are hovering over the Garuḍa-ornament of these niches.

We may suppose that all these niches once held images, the greater part of them, however, are gone, without leaving any trace. Those of the porches have been found there, but thrown down from their niches. Their legs are crossed under or before the body. The whole number must

have amounted to $2 \times 8 = 16$ niche-images, and $3 \times 6 = 18$ altar images, total 34, only 14 of which have been found.

The altar images extant have, or had, their right legs hanging down in front of the padmâsana, and their feet resting on a small lotus-cushion, which once was supported by a sitting little lion. Two of the little lions, which were still to be seen 12 years ago (in the northern room of the northern building) have disappeared since.

The only remaining lotus-cushion, on the middle of one of the six altars (in the same northern room) proves that the central images were smaller than the others and were not one with their padmâsanas. All the others were cut together with their lotus-cushions and glories out of one block of stone. The central images, being smaller and lighter than the other images, could of course be removed with less difficulty, so that not a single one is left.

The front-walls of two side-rooms show Buddhistic representations, cut in panel-like divisions. Some more groups of half-relief images adorned a few of the side-walls between the niche and the altar.

A cornice, with a frieze decorated with parrots and garlands of flowers, shows in one of the rooms of the northern ruin traces of cavities, in which the beams of an upper floor may have rested.

On entering the southern ruin, we see the two niches holding images of Bodhisatvas, nicely-finished, and half the size of life. One of them is partly destroyed. The other has the veda-bundle on the flower and the crossed cord round the breast.

On the forehead over the root of the nose there is the urna of the Buddha, and the crescent behind the nape of the neck.

This image and the two of the porch of the northern ruin have been placed in our museum at Yogyåkartå, and

I regret that we have not been able to remove thither all the loose images, which are now exposed to the destroying influences of sun and rain. But the museum is too small to hold them all.

We may suppose that all the niche images, also those of the inner rooms, had their two legs crossed under their bodies on the lotus-cushions, and that all of them were Bodhisatvas, like those of the niches in the porch.

The badly damaged image remaining in the porch has the broad edge of the monastic dress, which leaves the right shoulder and arm bare, over the chest under the upavîta.

The right hands of all the images, the altar images included, are resting with their backs on the right knees, and open in most cases, like the third Dhyâni-Buddha's, the attitude of the begging monk.

In the middle room we have found only the southern image of the altar, but in a bad state. The lower parts of the legs, the right arm, and the head, with the lotus and its symbol, are gone. The lotus-stalk rests in the left hand by the side of the hip.

The northern altar-image in the southern room has also lost its head and left hand, and part of the prabha, but wears the monastic dress below the cord.

The southern image is without its right arm and leg, its head and its glory. It wears the crossed cord, hence no upavîta.

In the southern wall there is a sculpture representing a man with four attendants, one of whom holds the payung over the head of his master, and another the sénṭé leaf, (1) as a mark of his dignity.

The northern and western walls have no divisions.

(1) An Aroïdee: Alocasia macrorhiza. The Javanese still occasionally use it as an umbrella.

The altar in the northern room is gone. The northern image has lost its right arm, and has no symbol on the flower. It wears the monastic dress below the upavîta. The southern image holds in the half-opened right hand an object, which is no longer recognizable.

On the northern wall we see only the feet and two attendants of a standing image, but the southern wall, is sculptured in the same way as that in the southern room; the western (or front-) wall showing two men of rank sitting under three bo-trees. They raise their joined hands to the respectful sembah salutation, which practice has probably been handed down to the Javanese by tradition from their Buddhistic ancestors or teachers. (1).

Two attendants hold the payung and the sénṭé- leaf.

In a panel of the southern wall there are sculptures of two men, standing under two payungs, held by attendants.

One of the Bodhisatva-images in the porch of the northern ruin also had the veda- bundle with a cord wound round it on the flower (2), but had not an urna on its forehead. The other has, and also wears the monastic dress under the upavîta. On the lotus- flower there is a bunch of three open rosettes with single leaves (no lotus- leaves of course).

In the middle room the cornice which once must have supported the upper floor is partly preserved.

The northern altar- image has an Amitâbha figure in the crown, the monastic dress below the cord, and the veda on the flower. The other image is gone.

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(1). In Ceylon I saw Buddhists approach their Buddhas or dagabas with the same kind of salutation.

(2). I saw similar bundles of palm-leaves with cords wound round them in a Buddhistic college at Colombo. In Java too such "kropaks" are not unknown, though dating from earlier times. In Bali they are still found and perhaps used as writing-material.

The northern image in the southern room has lost the lotus with its symbol. It wears a monatic dress.

The other image still has the veda on the flower, the moon behind the head and the woman's cord (1) across the breast.

The sculptures of the southern wall are similar to those of the southern room of the southern ruin, but all represent women.

The panels of the two side-walls in the northern room have hardly been damaged. Here also two women are represented, and over the group of the northern wall there are two celestians hovering.

The lotus of the southern altar-image bears a bunch composed of three lotus-buds with long stems, from which something like a flame seens to rise. The northern image has a bunch of flowers and a monastic dress below the upavîta.

No gandharvas or other celestians are hovering over the well preserved sculptures which crown the niches.

It is here that a fragment of the padmâsana of the loose image which once was enthroned on it, is still lying on a flat square base. The conventional seeds or cells of the seed-vessel of the lotus leave no room for a big image.

There can be no doubt that these central images were Dhyâni-Buddhas or at least Buddhas, first, because they have a right to the place of honour on the altar, secondly because this opinion is corroborated by other ruins, such as those of Såjivan.

The altar and niche images extant are Bodhisatvas. They are marked as such by their dress, their noble fea-

(1). Provisionally I use this name, which is not correct, as many images of men are found with this cord. Cross-cord would perhaps be better.

tures, the urna, the lunar crescent, and the Buddhistic monastic dress under the upavîta, in connection with the lotus-stem shooting upwards from the ground, and grasped by the left hand resting on or beside the thigh, and the padma by the side of the face. But which Bodhisatvas? Not those of the 5 Dhyâni-Buddhas, for their symbols do not rise on or from the flowers.

The urna is not worn by all, nor the monastic dress of the magnificent image of the Buddhistic prince on the right side of the great Buddha in the chaṇḍi Mĕnduṯ (1). But there are also some Buddhas of the Bårâbudur without an urna on the forehead.

This coil of hair, which is peculiarly characteristic of Buddhistic images, may have been forgotten or neglected by the sculptor or have been destroyed by the influence of the weather or some accidental injury.

The occasional absence of these marks, therefore, does not invalidate our opinion about their meaning in other similar images with the same environment.

The Buddhistic character of these images cannot be called in question, even though the real Buddha images of the altars have not been found back. The dagaba in the front of the crown worn by at least two images and one Amitâbha figure in the head-covering of another among the altar images leave no room for doubt about their Buddhistic meaning.

As other images are found in other places with identical marks, including even the urna on the forehead, and the same symbols on the lotus as at Parambanan, the Buddhistic character of the latter is confirmed by that of Pĕlahosan, and this is why the Bodhisatvas of Pĕlahosan, an undeniably Buddhistic building, is highly

(1) See Tijdschr. voor Ind. T.-, L.-en Vkk. of 1896, pp. 397 and seq. and „Eigen Haard" of 1897, parts 42 and 43.

remarkable, both here and there the symbols on the flowers pointing to Hindu divinities as manifestations of the original Buddha, avatăras of the one, immaterial primordial divinity, the Adi-Buddha of the northern Church.

Two of the four porch images and no less than three among the ten altar images extant have the veda-bundle on the padma, a symbol of the creative god, Brahma. The emblem of others is a bunch of flowers, in one instance bearing a flame, which might bo symbolical of Agni, the god of fire. The bunch of flowers is not an emblem of one god exclusively.

It is much to be regretted that all the other Bodhisatvas are wanting; and we are sorry to think that they were destroyed or removed by devastating treasure-seekers, who broke the floors and dug up the earth underneath, not knowing that there could be no graves in the rooms of these monasteries. It is not unlikely that by accident some have found their way to the grounds of some houses, but what can they teach us there about these ruins, so long as we cannot establish where they came from.

In the front part of the resident's garden at Yogyâkartâ there is a Bodhisatva image of the same size sitting on a Vaishṇavitic altar (with a Garuḍa under the sink) to which it certainly does not belong (1). It has the vajra, Indra's lightning, on the flower. But the vajra being likewise symbolical of the second Dhyâni-Bodhisatva: Vajrapâni, we should be entitled to take this image for this Buddha's son, if it had been found together with other Dhyâni-Bodhisatvas. Among the divine images of

(1) Though a garden may be adorned with such images, it is certainly more detrimental than advantageous to science that they are used for this purpose.

Pĕlahosan it would represent Indra, as at Parambanan.

From this we learn again what wrong is done by the removal of such images, if the place where they have been found is not recorded.

On and about the terraces which bore the squares of small temples and dagabas, north and south of the great terrace of the monastery, we still find the images which were there 14 years ago; but by far the greater number of them have been broken to pieces or so much damaged as to baffle all efforts at recognition.

Yet it is possible to point out among them some Dhyâni-Buddhas and one Kuvera, though all the heads and some other parts are wanting. One Bodhisatva with the veda on the flower, but without a right hand, is, for the rest, nearly entire.

It is cross-legged and might therefore have been enthroned in one of the niches of the ruins. The same thing may be said about another Bodhisatva, wearing the urna and having its right hand lying on its knee in the third Dhyâni-Buddha position.

These two images, however, are far greater than the niche or altar images in the viharas. Possibly they belonged to two of the smaller temples.

On the site of the southern miniature chandis I have found two women's images, with their legs crossed under their bodies and their right hands lying open on their right knees. One had lost the lotus-flower and the symbol thereon, and wore the woman's cord across her breast. Judging from the lotus-stalk which has been preserved, we may take her for a female Bodhisatva.

The other never had a lotus-stalk or flower, since no trace of a fracture is to be found on the prabha or the left thigh. The head has disappeared. So there is no attribute

to prove that this woman was a Bodhisatva. She also wears the woman's cord, but the whole image is thickly overgrown with white moss.

A third image without a head, cross-legged, wore no upavîta, but had a monastic dress and a veda on the padma: hence, another Brahma, as Bodhisatva

Of the other images only fragments were left.

VII. CHANDI SAJIVAN.

This ruin, situated within a mile of Parambanan station, to the south, is the only one remaining out of a group which, like those spoken of before, seems to have been composed of a monastery surrounded by small chandis. I am of opinion, however, that this ruin, which contains only one room, was not a residence of monks.

It is partly built of whitish sandstone (from the Southern Mountains in the vicinity), in the form of a small square with an entrance facing the west, and bearing still traces of the Naga ornament.

The room inside received its light from a window in each side-wall.

The altar, which runs along the (eastern) back-wall, may have supported three images. Where their original position was, can only be surmised, as they have been found outside the building.

On the remnants of the pedestal of the middle image—hence, the principal one—there was still a lotus-flower with a sword on it as a symbol, but this fragment was perhaps deposited there when the three images, which now have a place in our museum, were put inside again.

Between the altar and the windows there are still two niches, where the two Bodhistava images perhaps ought to sit, which had been replaced there.

The Dhyâni-Buddha, Amitâbha, smaller than the other two images, with his padmâsana cut out of the same stone-block, had been put on the vacant lotus-cushion of one of the side-images of the altar.

I suppose that this or a similar Buddha, as the chief image, once was enthroned on the middle pedestal.

A piece of the lotus-throne is all that is left of the other side-image.

The right leg of each of the two Bodhisatvas hangs down in front of the padmâsana, the left being bent and resting on it.

The two left arms are broken off above the elbow and lost. The urna adorns each of the foreheads. One wears the upavîta, the other the crossed cord. The right hands, in the third Dhyâni-Buddha position, rest with their backs upon the right knees. One is empty, the other holds a rosette. The first is without a glory now, the second has two prabhas, the outer one with a flaming edge, from which a fragment of the padma is still hanging down.

This ruin, therefore, is another monument of the Buddhism of the northern church, which reigned in the whole plain. As far as I know, there is not a single non-Buddhistic building in the plain, the mahâyânistic character of the Parambanan group being convincingly established.

The one group of chanḍis in these parts, which, some time ago, I firmly believed to be ṣaivitic buildings, is situated several miles further to the south, at some distance from the plain and at a height of above 300 yards in the Southern Mountains, hence in another locality and amidst quite different surroundings.

But this group, which was, moreover, built on a totally dissimilar plan, and in the chief temple of which we found what we took for a lingga, is no part of the

Parambanan ruins, the description of which is the exclusive object of this work. Besides, I described this chandi group of gunung Ijo amply, so that there is no need to speak of them again (1).

Still it is possible that, among the few ruins, lying more or less near the margin of the plain, in so dilapidated a condition that they can teach us only the transientness of even the most beautiful creations due to Buddhism, there may be hidden some single Brahmanic ruin, but then it is only an exception to the rule which points out Buddhism as the cult of the mighty Hindu empire, which flourished and was destroyed here many centuries ago, and which, as it did in India in olden times and as it does in Ceylon, now was tolerant enough to suffer the existence of other cults or worships by its side.

But the state of these ruins is such as to make even a conjecture as to what they were centuries ago next to impossible.

We ought to be contented with what is still extant and to do what we can to preserve what is not entirely lost, and we may certainly deem it a fortunate circumstance that our Government is willing to do what only this is able to accomplish.

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(1) See the Tijdschr. voor Ind. Taal-, Land- en Volkenk., 1888.

ADDENDA.

I subjoin some brief observations on a remarkable find I made among the rubbish of two of the ruins described after I had finished this guide. One was at Parambanan, the other at Pĕlahosan.

In each case it is a lintel with a sculpture of the well-known conventional Garuḍa-head. But amidst the foliaged curls in which these heads terminate on both sides appear two unmistakable talons with three scaled toes and curved nails.

They confirm the accuracy of Mr. FINOT's statement that these heads represent Garuḍa, constituting additional evidence of the common (Buddhistic) origin of the two groups of temples, consequently of Parambanan too.

The Parambanan stone has already been received, as no. 3, in our museum in the capital.

The cornerstones of the cornice of the parapet on the chief temple of Parambanan, beside the lateral steps to the platforms between the lower and the upper flight of stairs, as far as they are still extant, have also retained the Garuḍa-heads with the talons.

The beautiful woman's image in the grounds of the resident's house, which sometimes suggested to me the idea that it might be the lost Târâ of Kalasan, is represented on Plate I of VON SAHER's illustrated work: "Versierende Kunsten in Nederlandsch-Indië" (Decorative Arts in the Dutch Indies), with the subscription:

"Târâ of vrouwelijke Bodhisatwa, vermoedelijk afkomstig van Plaosan" (Târâ or female Bodhisatva, probably belonging to Plaosan).

There is no reasonable ground for this supposition, nobody knowing where it was found, as those who could know are either dead or not to be found.

Besides it is not in keeping with the images of Pĕlahosan, all of which are provided with the marks of male Bodhisatvas.

Nor has it any of the attributes, either of the five Bodhiṣaktîs i. e. Buddhistic Târâs (1), or of a female Bodhisatva, or of any Hindu divinity we know, so that we are not entitled to take this image for any one of these beings.

Moreover, it is one with its own lotus-cushion, being cut together with it out of one block of stone, while on the altar in the inner room of chandi Kalasan there is a cushion, though no padmâsana.

The only statement we are able to make about this image is, that it is a beautiful woman's image, wearing the garb of a goddess; sitting with her legs crossed under her on a lotus-cushion before a large blazing glory; pressing her two hands against her breast, the left being put over the right, with the palms turned down and the fingers bent; crowned with an elegant makuta, and adorned with a woman's cord across the well-formed bosom. This is all.

As it is not probable that the highly artistic Mahâyânistic architect should have put in the very beautiful Târâ-temple a Bodhiṣaktî without Târâ-symbols, and even without the indispensable lotus-stem, I conclude that this image cannot be the lost Târâ.

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(1) See OLDFIELD, Sketches from Nipal, II, p. p. 172-175.